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LAND REFORM AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN IRAQ

1958 - 1978

by

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at the University of Keele for the Degree of Master of Arts.**

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TO MY PARENTS

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to examine the impact of Land Reform upon agricultural development in Iraq from 1958 to 1978. An attempt is made to examine the ways in which land was expropriated from big landlords and the resultant distributive affects on agricultural production. The organisational procedures and methods by which land was distributed to the peasants are described and the effect of land reform on the living standards of the peasants who received land in this process is evaluated.

The study commences with a survey of the debate on land reform. The different arguments are critically examined in order to discover the possible socio-economic consequences of land reform on agricultural development.

Since agricultural production is greatly influenced by physical and climate factors, these tend to affect the policies designed for agricultural development. A detailed description of the natural environment of the country is included to show the limitations as well as the potential that exist for the expansion of agricultural production which may, in turn, influence the nature of land reform.

The central theme of the thesis, the implementation of land reform in Iraq is then discussed. After a historical description of the pre-land reform period, the objectives and provisions of the 1958 and 1970 land reforms are outlined and evaluated. These evaluations aim to identify the nature and content of each land reform, the achievements in relation to the objectives set and the method of their implementation through the creation of co-operatives and other forms of

of production unit. The effectiveness of these reforms is then assessed in terms of both the change in the living standards of the peasants and the effects on agricultural output.

Land reforms have been incorporated into general agricultural policies within overall planning programmes.

The priority of agricultural development indicated in various plans and financial resources which have been allocated for reforms is then examined, to discover the importance assigned to land reform in the agricultural development plans. This examination helps to explain why land reform did not proceed at the projected rate of implementation.

This thesis concludes with a summary of the impact of land reform on political, social and agricultural conditions in Iraq. While the main political objective of undermining the power of the big landlords has been achieved, land reform has been less successful in improving the lot of the peasants which in turn has meant that agricultural production has not increased to the levels anticipated.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

L.R.	Land Reform
P.E.P.	Provisional Economic plan
D.E.P.	Detailed Economic plan
N.D.P.	National Development plan
A.A.S.	Annual Abstract of statistics
C.S.O.	Central statistical organisation
G.D.P.	Gross Domestic product
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
T.M.O.	Tobacco Monopoly Organisation
1 I.D. (Iraqi Dinar) = 1,000 Iraqi fils = \$ 3.39.	

MEASURES AND QUANTITY

MEASURES OF LAND

1 donum	=	1,000 square meters = 0.1 hectare (ha) = 0.26 acres.
1 square kilometer	=	100 hectares = 0.33861 square miles.
1 acre	=	0.40468 hectares.

QUANTITY PER UNIT AREA

Kilograms / ha. x 0.89	=	lbs./acre.
1 metric ton/ha. (Maize)	=	15.9 bushel/acre.
1 metric ton/ha. (Barley)	=	18.5 bushel/acre.
1 metric ton/ha. (Wheat)	=	14.8 bushel/acre.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the effects of Land Reform upon agricultural development in Iraq in the period 1958-1978. The primary objectives of this study are:

a) to examine the ways in which land was expropriated from big landowners and the organisational procedures and methods by which land distribution has been carried out; (b) to evaluate the impact of Land Reform on the living standards of peasants and on agricultural development.

This study is based on three different sources of data and information used in a complementary manner where a check can be applied to the accuracy and reliability of the sources.

1. OFFICIAL STATISTICS

These include annual reports on all economic activities published by the central statistical organisation, and various ministerial reports as well as occasional samplings which have been conducted by relevant bodies. The quality and reliability of these sources varies greatly. It is generally believed that the reliability of agricultural data is moderate to low and it tends to suffer from two major shortcomings. Firstly, inadequacy of coverage, and secondly, the highly aggregated nature of the data.

It is commonly believed by social researchers that agricultural statistics are over-estimated, for political reasons, for the government has regularly and intentionally overstated the actual

achievements in agricultural sector. Samplings are relatively reliable sources of information, although they are not usually easily available to the public. They tend to suffer from arbitrarily defined areas of investigations. Nevertheless, they can be a useful source to complement official information and to fill in gaps where no data exists. Moreover, there is also a major conceptual problem with official data. The unit of investigation is often defined in rather broad, and arbitrary terms, where some features of the unit can be easily ignored, modified or misunderstood. It is observed that data on the agricultural activities published by different official bodies show wide statistical discrepancies. These discrepancies can be explained partly by the variations in accuracy and completeness of the collected data and partly by variations in conceptual definitions employed by various official bodies.

2. RESEARCH WORKS

These consist of all accessible studies with total or partial reference to Land Reform and agricultural development in Iraq. They are important secondary sources of information; they not only provide diverse interpretations of data and evaluation of the effects of land reform on agricultural development and its consequences, but they also provide additional information on unpublished, classified data, for the represented data has been collected in the field-work studies and is generally reliable. It can thus be used to point out inconsistencies in official statistics.

3. PERSONAL OBSERVATION AND DISCUSSION

In the course of writing of this study, the author visited two

co-operatives and the General Union of Agricultural Co-operatives and held a series of discussions with peasants and administrators in those units.

These discussions provided valuable insights into the actual living conditions of these peasants and highlighted the administrative nature of the co-operatives. In the course of this study, references to personal observation are made to clarify some of the ambiguities implicit in official information.

This thesis is presented in four main chapters and is organised in the following way. The introductory chapter serves as a broad theoretical background to the following chapters. It outlines the major theoretical arguments on Land Reform put forward by various social scientists. The arguments are classified into two main groups: 'Conservative' and 'radical' and each is briefly examined. The Conservative approach examines some of the negative aspects of Land Reform, the radical approach serves to show the impact of Land Reform on the overall socio-political structure. In addition to the basic concepts and nature of Land Reform, the administrative problems are discussed and the consequences for agricultural development and the political structure are evaluated.

Chapter two provides necessary background information on the conditions in which agriculture production is undertaken in Iraq. The country's natural resources and climatic conditions need to be examined to determine the best way of exploiting them. However, national policy can only be effective if there is proper control of these resources, hence the importance of land reform, which together with land tenure is the principal concern of chapter three.

This chapter examines the evolution of land tenure in Iraq and its reforms during the period 1958-1978 and demonstrates that the land reform of 1958 was only partially successful since the expropriated landlords had the pick of the better lands in the redistribution, while the peasants obtained the less productive and less accessible lands. A far less generous concept of compensation in the 1970 reform has made greater progress and a more equitable distribution possible.

Chapter four discusses agricultural development policy within the successive development plans during the period 1950-1974, but goes on to show that while the agricultural sector has been of the main beneficiaries of national development plans, financed principally through oil revenues, a certain lack of co-ordination and long term planning coupled with a failure to relate agricultural objectives to wider national objectives has had serious repercussions on the possibilities of success of the land reform programmes.

The thesis ends with a concluding chapter which summarises the arguments and draws the conclusion that the success of land reform varies according to different criteria; on the political ground, it was totally successful in eliminating socio-political power and influences of the big landlord, while on the socio-economic terms, the achievements of land reforms have been less impressive both in terms of the rising living standard of the peasants and in reducing the extent of dependency on the imported agricultural products both for domestic consumption and industrial uses.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND REFORM DEBATE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Land Reform is a controversial issue and has been subjected to intensive studies by a wide ranging group of researchers of different socio-political persuasions. It is commonly accepted that Land Reform is a pre-requisite for major socio-economic changes with far reaching political implications reflected in the transfer of power from big land owners to the landless peasants. The role of the state in this transformation is of paramount importance. Through the use of force it can break the power block of large landowners and facilitate changes by taking an active role in supplementing those economic factors in short supply or take over the function of landowners by creating state farms or by collectivizing the agriculture sector.

This chapter attempts to provide a general outline of the major issues related to Land Reform. In the first two sections, the concept of land reform is defined in some detail and the expected results of land reform are examined in terms of various economic variables. The nature and various organizational forms of land reform are described and the relevant institutions that are to bring basic changes in the structure of production, distribution and finance are described in the third section. Section four presents two main approaches that have been advocated by various economists and policy-makers, namely the "conservative" and "radical" schools. The views and predictions expressed in the radical approach are examined in order to show the implications of land reform for the overall socio-political structure. From the "conservative" standpoints, some of the negative aspects of land reform in particular its overriding political objectives, are briefly indicated in the fifth section. The various administrative

problems including decisions about the size of land holdings, security of tenure and the extent of collaboration between co-operatives and state agencies are discussed in the sixth section. The seventh section considers the consequences of land reform with respect to output, employment, as well as its effect on the living standard of the peasants and on political stability.

1.2. The Concept of Land Reform

Generally, "Land Reform" is understood to mean:

"The redistribution of property in land for the benefit of small farmers and agricultural workers"
(Warriner, 1962, p.3).

Land reforms of this kind have been carried out in countries of the Middle East and Latin America which previously had a highly concentrated pattern of landownership (and in the case of some Latin American countries still have). It is both a socio-political change and an economic one. The socio-political change has been welcomed by the beneficiaries, and most 'Liberal' commentators regard the consequent rise in the status of a previously depressed class as highly desirable. As regards the economic one, one question arises: Has land reform facilitated the transformation of traditional agriculture and raised the level of production? Some land reforms have indeed been economically successful (in terms of maintaining or raising production), for example, the land reforms in Japan and in Mexico (United Nations, 1966, p.128 and 130). Some land reforms have been less economically successful than that of Mexico. In the case of Iraq after the revolution of 1958, agricultural output fell by about half and has been slow to recover (Hallett, 1981, p.305).

As mentioned earlier, land reform is identified with the redistribution of land for the benefit of small farmers and agricultural workers (Warriner, 1955, p.1). In terms of redistribution such a reform was purely social in its aim, for it envisaged the breaking up of larger holdings as a means of securing social equality and justice rather than of raising agricultural productivity per unit of land per person. For instance, between the two world wars, the peasants in Eastern Europe and Mexico got the land only, without the means of working it, in the form of credit, marketing facilities, and technical guidance. Thus the economic impact of redistribution varied, for "sometimes production increased, and sometimes it did not" (Warriner, 1962, p.3).

Following the Second World War new ideas began to come into existence. The United Nations regarded land reform as:

"an integrated programme of measures designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising out of defects in the agrarian structure" (United Nations, 1962, p.93).

Furthermore, land reform came into being as more than a simple matter of persuading a Minister of Agriculture or the Head of state to implement the programme. Moreover, land reform came increasingly to be conceived in terms of the achievement of perhaps ill-defined but nevertheless powerful ideas such as equality and social justice. (Dorner, 1972, p.19).

However, the concept of land reform will vary according to whether they are provided by those who favour reform or by those who are opposed to it. Moreover, the definition depends not only on the aim

of reform, but also on the means by which the reform is carried out (Lehmann, 1974, p.13). For many it is an ideological symbol rather than an achievable goal. For some, Land Reform is the way to achieve "political stability" and democracy" (Ladejinsky, W.,1969).

Now a new conception of land reform comes from U.S., which emphasizes that Land Reform should include not only redistribution of land, but also a variety of concomitant measures such as a better credit system, better marketing facilities, co-operation, agricultural advisory services, education, and so on. This is a comprehensive policy of Land Reform which flowered in the course of the Cold War, as an answer to communism (Warriner, 1962, pp.3-4).

The new concept, which became popular and further developed when the topic was first placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly in 1951 and in the FAO in 1951, led to the use of the term to mean more than the redistribution of land either by breaking up large estates or by consolidation of holdings (Andrews, 1952).

However, the main difference between the new and old conception is that Land Reform is now regarded as an agricultural policy as well as a social policy. By contrast with the earlier land distribution, the aim is to give the farmer help, and also to combine social change with a policy to increase productivity in agriculture.

1.3. The Objectives of Land Reform

It is unusual for governments expecting Land Reform to specify the political and socio-economic aims of the policy.

As Long pointed out, this is primarily because:

"they need to retain a degree of flexibility, so that they can modify or scrap their plans if these appear to be creating more problems than they actually solve".
(Long, 1977, p.182).

However, a reform carried out by an organised peasantry is unlikely to have the same objectives as one initiated by a state bureaucracy, with little participation by the people directly affected. There is a measure of agreement among scholars researching Land Reform about its general objective. For example, reform often involves the abolition of that system of stratified land tenure whereby ultimate ownership of the land resides with feudal "superiors" with the land worked by those at the bottom of the system who are often bound to the land by a system of obligation beyond the mere payment of rent. Warriner, (1969, pp.4-11) found it that even within this general pattern of development, one government may abolish large landownership in order to achieve greater equality overall, and another may do the same in the hope of strengthening the economic well-being of one section of society in relation to others. Land Reform may have predominantly political aims.

The achievement of national independence has often been associated with the removal of an institutional framework inherited from the past including the ownership of large estates by people of alien nationality, or perhaps, the survival of farms of land tenure imposed or developed under colonial rule (Warriner, 1969, pp.11-12).

In India and Pakistan, for instance, reforms have been principally concerned with the abolition of Zamindari, a form of tenure established under British rule (Joshi, 1974, pp.52-54).

Land Reform is used in this instance to attract the peasant's support to the new regime, and to reduce political instability (McEntire, 1973, p.42). Furthermore, the main objective of land reform according to Warriner, (1969) may be social and economic, removing inequalities and establishing socialism or some other system in agriculture by distributing the land among the peasants who work it. The objectives may also include the improvement of the living standard of the peasants, the expansion of agricultural production and the raising of employment on the land (McEntire, 1973, p.42). Another purpose of land reform has been to divide large estates into small farms which are in turn or given, sold or leased to peasants who are forced to join 'co-operative i.e. state managed enterprises which control all phases in the product and marketing cycle. (Springborg, 1977, p.130).

1.4. The main approaches towards Land Reform

Land Reform has been undertaken in many countries. It has mainly taken two forms; first, the 'conservative' approach whose aim has been the consolidation of fragmented holdings, land reclamation for settlement purposes, protection of the rights of agricultural labourers and the regulation of landlord - tenant relations, especially with a view to protecting and safeguarding the rights and interests of the other; second, and most important the radical approach which in the main stems from the doctrine that, whoever tills the land ought to own it. Under this type of reform, large estates have been expropriated with or without compensation, and the land thus released has been redistributed to landless tenants, farm workers, and owners of very small holdings.

In some countries both these types of land reform have been combined in varying degrees. In Iraq, for example, the land reform of 1958 has aimed to abolish feudalism through expropriation and redistribution, imposing ceilings on large estates and prescribing floors for redistributed holdings, regulations on landlord - tenant relations, the protection of the rights of agricultural labourers and the reorganisation of agriculture through the formation of co-operatives. Similar reforms were introduced in Egypt and Syria in 1952 and 1958 respectively. In India, the land reform programmes have been designed to abolish intermediary rights on land (U.N. 1979, p.8). In Japan, the 1946 Land Reforms led to the transfer of land from the absentee landlords to a ctual cultivating.

The Gezira settlement project aimed at establishing peasants on irrigated lands as permanent state tenants. Burma's Land Reform resulted in the break up of large estates and their redistribution among peasant cultivators. Moreover, radical reforms have also been undertaken by many countries in Latin America. In many of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, more radical measures have been taken and in some cases the expropriated landlords have not been given any compensation. Such reforms have been carried out in Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The countries which has followed the more conservative approach to land reform include the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, and Scandinavian countries.

However, one of the emerging results of the United Nations activity and its international conferences (1952) on land reform was

clearly described by Dorner, who pointed out that:

"land reform was becoming increasingly urgent in many LDC's, because of a deterioration in employment opportunities in both the rural and urban sectors".

(Dorner, 1972, p.19)

He noted a rapid population growth with an increased rural migration resulting from the lack of opportunities in the agricultural sector and the attraction of better health and educational services in the cities. These influences have led to increasing social and political tension and instability in LDC's. Tai (1974, p.296) found that many governments, especially newly-established ones, refer to political problems in the countryside and thus by stressing the need for land reform they also seek to strengthen their own political power and deliberately attempt to weaken that of their political opponents, especially that of the landowners. In reality as Springborg stated,

"Its special political attraction was due not only to desire of newly independent governments to improve the lot of these peasants, but also to the fact that it enabled these governments to accomplish two tasks which they set as high priority: the winning of popular support among the mass of the peasantry by giving them what they most desired - land - and, secondly, the gaining of direct state control over agriculture". (Springborg, 1977, p.130)".

There are several types of radical land reform: first, co-operative societies, second, collective farm and third state farms, such as those found in Eastern Europe, the USSR and China (mainland), and more recently in Algeria, Cuba and Iraq. These types were a result of redistributing the land to the peasants who were required to join co-operatives.

The main objective of the co-operative is to replace the private money lenders by providing loans to peasants at a reasonable rate, of

interest to improve agricultural finance through short, medium and long term credit and to improve the marketing of agricultural products (Ladejinsky, 1977, p.34).

The substantive elements of marketing policies are changes in the relationship between farmer and consumer. According to Hallett:

"Marketing policies are concerned with changes in the distributive chain between farmer and consumer. The objective here may be to strengthen the farmer's bargaining position by, for example, encouraging the development of producer - controlled marketing organisations, or to improve hygiene or quality, or to reduce the costs of marketing" (Hallett, 1981, p.10).

Therefore, agriculture either organised into state farms, or privately owned family farms, or agribusiness farms could market its products through state marketing agencies aimed at reducing somehow the number of intermediaries, high prices and hence providing essential products to the domestic markets in urban as well as in rural areas. It has often been claimed that marketing boards are in essence different from state monopolies or quasi monopolies and trading organisation (Aresvik, 1977, p.213).

Lipton (1974, p.270) has pointed out that land reform is often organised around some form of collective solution, in some type of co-operative, or through a state farm system of production, or even on an individual basis, where small family farms make more land available to peasants, who may or may not own land. Furthermore, Petras and la Porte (1973, p.234) draw a line between the "productionist approach" and "redistributionist one". The productionist approach assumes that development and improvement generally can best occur through increased production without any redistribution of land. The redistributionist approach lays emphasis on land reform as a necessary pre-condition

for agricultural development. Further, it seems land reform as an all-pervading social change which would bring equality in rights and in income. Moreover, Lehmann (1978, pp.339-345) suggests another approach to land reform, distinguishes between the "historical" and "technocratic" approaches. The former approach located land reform within the process of evolutionary change, while the second proposes a high degree of rigidity in the political, economic and social structure and land reform as a rapid and radical means to transforming this structure.

1.5. Relevant arguments for Land Reform

There are several reasons for undertaking land reforms in many of the developing countries, and they can be either political, social or economic.

First, political reasons are implicit in the abolition of feudalism - the very basis of the rule of Iraq's rulers before 1958.

Secondly, the social objectives of land reform aim at eradicating the social evils of land concentration through the abolition of feudalisms, i.e. cutting the ground from under the feet of the landlords by expropriating their estates; creating a new state of social equilibrium and preventing agrarian unrest by establishing a new class of small owners, and raising the standard of living of the workers.

Thirdly, the economic reasons for reform are to raise the level of living through the improvement of production.

However, it has been stated that:

"Land reform measures are complex in nature, difficult and costly to execute. Nearly all land reforms have been introduced without advanced assessment of the implications, but governments are increasingly feeling the need for evaluation, at least of the implementation of land reform measures and of their economic and social effects" (United Nations, 1966, p.2).

Yet it is often asserted that the benefits are higher than the costs. One case in point is that there is a close relationship between land reform and agricultural productivity and output, mainly because land reform results in a greater incentive to operator and in a more efficient form of organisation. First of all, on the employment side, if the country's rate of population growth is higher in rural areas, other measures would have to be introduced and then land reform in the short-run would not be effective. On the other hand, if there exists a low rate of population growth, land reform would be more effective. An example, of this, is that investment in human capital would create employment opportunities and would add to output. Secondly, the implementation of land reform with other additional social and economic measures would permit the countryside to change gradually towards a new pattern of life. People would be able to reach another stage in the welfare state.

Infrastructure in social services would grow and permit people to consume them according to their urgent needs. Education as the key factor in the countryside would take place harmoniously and favourably. The benefits and costs of land reform are for certain to be judged in relation to its implementation and the willingness of the people to accept it.

However, Meier stated that the major argument for land reform is:

"the need for securing a more equal distribution of income by eliminating the monopoly elements. In the first case the aim is to reduce the price for the use of land i.e. a reduction in rents, and in the second case, the aim is to subdivide big holdings and secure a fuller use of land, an increased demand for labour, and higher wages for the farm worker" (Meier, 1970, p.420).

It is for the above reasons as well because of its potential for greater agricultural productivity that land reform is sometimes assumed as a necessary condition for agriculture development in many LDCs. Then the argument that the redistribution of large estate will cause a decline in productivity is true on two propositions that:

- "1. there is competition between the factors of production and
 2. there are economies of large - scale production"
- (Meier, 1970, p.421).

However, although the above propositions are valid in developed countries, they are generally not valid in relation to the land systems of the LDCs, because capital plays small part in production. Furthermore, the arguments which are used against land reform are false because they are based on projections of conditions in advanced countries, and do not take these basic differences into account. One argument used against land reform is that there is no need for compulsory, expropriation: As Meier argues,

"If governments wish to encourage ownership, they can do this by giving tenants special credit facilities enabling them to buy their holdings. In Switzerland (or Denmark or Sweden), the land system has evolved itself by gradual adjustment to modern conditions, and Asian countries should therefore adjust their systems gradually, without drastic legislation to expropriate sources of land" (Meier, 1970, p.422).

However, Warriner (1970, pp.418-424) believes that most of the economic arguments commonly used against land reform are really political arguments in disguise. She argues that the land reform as an institutional change will not reverse the course of development and repair the damage done in the past through loss of capital. It is an essential first step in the condition of many LDC's and is certainly a condition of development. Then Land Reform is used here to mean a measure of redistribution of land tenure, as well as a supporting measure to achieve a potential increase in agricultural productivity.

1.6. The main aspects of Land Reform and instruments for its implementation

Within the framework of its agrarian policy, governments of LDCs, usually lay emphasis on the goals to be achieved their political credibility with the people. Yet, there are very few areas of socio-economic policy where the gap between policy formulation, legislations and its implementations is as wider as in the sphere of land reform. However, according to the United Nations, the main aspects of land reform which LDCs can be taken summarised as follows:

- "1. Continuous updating of land records, which is essential for the formulation and timely revision of policies as well as for the implementation of land reform programmes.
2. Ceilings on landownership and the distribution of land held in surplus above the ceiling.
3. Tenancy reform involving rent control, security of tenancy and abolition of intermediaries.
4. Consolidation of fragmented land holdings for more effective use of land and labour.

5. More effective management of important complementary resources like water and credit, which is essential for the viability of any land reform programme over time" (United Nations, 1979, p.1).

In addition, although land reform would have to nationalise or confiscate land for large landowners, government would have to leave some room for private land ownership. This issue, in reality, would be decided on political rather than economic grounds (United Nations, p.1).

However, the United Nations argued that land reform objectives are difficult to achieve because of the multi-dimensional character of land reform resulting from their various interrelated aspects considerably complicates the issue of the objectives. In other words, although land reform is based on political grounds, economic motives may change its objectives rather than being unanimously agreed. An example of this is that the political leadership may wish to establish large farms in which landless peasants would work with a co-operative organisation, and this alters the power structure in the countryside. On the other hand, the policy-workers dominated by economists would wish to establish small-scale public farm units, reflecting "static efficiency" considerations and demonstrate that smaller operational holdings lead to more intensive application of family labour per unit of land and thus, tend to raise yield per acre (Georgescu, R. 1960). Between these two extreme views lie other problems which must be solved by policy-makers to achieve a sound and an effective land reform. The redistribution of new lands to new tenants involves additional supportive elements such as investments, credits, mechanisation, etc., due to the fact that past experiences in many LDCs unsecured, tenancy hindered medium and long-term land reform goals.

Furthermore, governments must take into consideration the technicalities of such land reform implementation i.e. staff, laws, etc.. This idea is clearly demonstrated by Grindle (1980, p.8) who points out that the analysis of the implementation of specific programmes should therefore take account of the officials concerned, their interest, their integrity and their zeal, as well as the characteristics of the setting in which they interact. In achieving their ends officials face two difficulties. First, the co-operation of the beneficiaries must be achieved and at the same time opposition by those who feel threatened must be perceived and countered. The problem if policy implementations lies in achieving a balance-ensuing sufficient response from the beneficiaries to provide flexibility, support and feedback, while on the other hand, maintaining full control over the distribution of resources.

The effective implementation of such policies may be achieved in different ways. The first might be the competing claims on resources made by different social classes. Then there is the possibility of conflicting interpretation of policy objectives on the part of bureaucrats (Long, 1980, pp.241-242). The second difficulty in policy implementations is that interest groups without firm commitment to the policy goals may make use of programmes for their own political or economic ends. This can happen at local, regional or national levels and we find people like agricultural union leaders, political party bosses, traders association officials protecting the interests of their members. Similarly government jobs can be shared out to loyal followers and thus a powerful front may be formed (Grindle, 1980, pp.12-16).

However, experience has revealed that L.R. has been successful in its early stages, the later stages of it have gradually become more difficult to implement partly for political failure that it did not keep peasant motivation high enough and partly for the adverse affect of L.R. on the economic life of the peasants. Furthermore, Arulpragasam (1969, p.46) pointed out that the failure of implementation is mainly because the inadequate appreciation of the complex and controversial nature of the programme and a misjudgement of the type of the administrative procedure likely to succeed.

1.7. The Consequences of Land Reform

In general, there is a wide discrepancy between the objectives of the land reform legislation and its fulfilment in practice, even when there is in reality an intention on the part of the government to implement its policy. However, any of the result of land reform should take into account the pre-reform situation. It is also necessary to look closely at the new legislation and the new government agencies set up to carry it through. So the historical perspective is very important (Long, 1977, p.170). Then the returns of L.Rs. are extensive. It affects employment opportunities, marketing and various forms of measures among the peasants themselves since land reform has important implications for the expansion of the domestic market in a modern industrial economy. Moreover, the consequences is that land reform may have an impact on production and generating innovative marketing forms. The character of this impact will depend particularly on the effect of the reform sector on the non-reform sector of production. Often land reform is intended to create political stability although the consequences are never entirely predictable.

As De Janvry and Ground stated the function of land reform:

- "1. With the production strategy of the land reform centered on the non-reform sector, the primary role of the reform sector is political. Its function is to stimulate the development of a conservative agrarian petty bourgeoisie and thus reduce the threat of social instability in the countryside.
2. Reforms that attempts to establish the farmer road are potentially the most destabilizing due to the political reaction of expropriated landed elites and to the frustrations of the large mass of peasants excluded from the reform" (De Janvry and Ground 1978, p.106).

In Latin America, for example, one of the consequences is the consolidation of the conservative agrarian bourgeoisie in order to gain the support of pre-capitalist classes and this tends to lead to the growth of a more commercially oriented economy while at the sametime eliminating political instability among the peasant groups in the rural areas.

However, the actual intervention by the state in the rural scene can produce a new form of consciousness. Very often peasants realise for the first time how the state operates and therefore organise themselves. They may even resist the land reform efforts themselves (This is the case of Latin American countries) (Carroll, 1970, pp.101-113).

The major reason for the failure of land reform, as Springborg pointed out:

- "a. without the incentives provided by ownership, peasants will not work land or simply will not work at all.
- b. administrative overheads are necessarily high.

- c. errors are likely to occur because decisions must be made by those who are not on the scene at all times.
- d. when errors do occur they may well be of disaster proportions because of the size of the operation". (Springborg, 1977, p.135).

In view of such policy drawbacks, governments have attempted to redistribute farm units to foreign companies which aimed to alleviate past-structural defects. Again, the outcome of such policy soon was reflected by close relationships between national policy-makers and foreign partners as against national farmers. This new farm policy provoked with no surprise discontentment of political parties in many countries. It may seem that at the end of these long efforts, many developing countries have been subjugated in their chosen models and structures.

One may agree again with Springborg when he states that:

"certain developed countries prefer developing countries to follow the paths of development they pioneered. The best indicator that they have not strayed from the socialist or capitalist path is the presence of familiar structures, be they state farms or privately owned family farms or agribusinesses" (Springborg, 1977, p.138).

Finally, it must be clearly pointed out that the drawbacks of land reform in LDC's are not entirely due to foreign misconceptions, but rather due to the high personal political ambitions present in many top officials. In addition, a climate of laissez-faire among peasants does exist and cannot bring about sound and effective agricultural policies in LDCs.

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF IRAQ'S AGRICULTURE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This second chapter aims to present an extensive description and analysis of Iraq's agriculture. The chapter is organised into three main sections. Section one presents the general geo-economic background of the country. Section two show the land use and its characteristics.

Section three concentrates on the characteristics of various regions and the factors influencing their respective land use. They are crucial and determinant in the sense that they will allow us to understand the following chapters, and to shed more light on the problems of Iraq's agriculture at the level of its reorganisation in 1958 and the period following.

2.2. PHYSICAL FEATURES

Iraq is situated in the South-west of Asia to the North-east of the Arab peninsula, bounded on the North by Turkey, on the East by Iran, on the West by Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, on the South by the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as shown in Figure 2.1.

The country lies between latitudes $29^{\circ}5'$ and $37^{\circ}22'$ North and between longitudes $38^{\circ}45'$ and $48^{\circ}45'$ East. It covers an area of 438,317 (*) square kilometres, or about 181.6 million donums. Geographically, this comprises four distinct regions, proceeding from the North-east to the South-west, the alluvial plain, the desert plateau, the mountains and the terrain (**) region. A brief description of each region follows:

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(*) The total area of Iraq is divided as follows:

<u>Details</u>	<u>sq.kms</u>	<u>%</u>
Mountains	92,000	21.0
Deserts	166,871	38.1
Terrain lands	42,500	9.7
Plains (including	132,500	30.2
marshes and lakes)	3,522	0.8
Half of the neutral zone	924	0.2
Territorial water		

TOTAL	438,317	100.0
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SOURCE: Government of Iraq, Ministry of Planning, 1978, p.10.

(**) The Terrain region is a transitional region between lowlands in the south and high mountain regions. This covers an area of about 26.8 million donums of the mountain region or forms about 75% of the mountainous region.

- (1) The Alluvial Plain: This region forms one-fifth of Iraq's area i.e. 37.2 million donums. The region is flat and has swamps scattered here and there in the southern part of the country. This plain has been built up by the alluvial deposits of the Euphrates and Tigris and the tributaries of the latter.
- (2) The Desert Plateau: The great desert is situated on the West and South-west and the Jazirah between the Tigris and Euphrates. This region covers an area of about 108 million donums, which accounts for about three-fifths of the country's area. Many wadis (valleys) of different length dissect the desert. The Jazirah, for example, is cut by numerous valleys, i.e. wadi Al-Thruthur and wadi Al-Mur are the major ones. This region is inhabited by the nomads (Bedouin).
- (3) The Mountain Regions: This region is situated in the North and North-east of Iraq and extends to its joint boundaries with Syria, Turkey and Iran in the West. It covers an area of about 36 million donums, which forms one-fifth of Iraq's area.

Khammo, (1977) stated that:

"over these three regions, the terrain permits cultivation in the valleys, basins and lower foothills of the mountain region, hinders cultivation in the desert region and favours it over most of the alluvial plain, which is by far the most important agricultural region of the three" (Khammo, 1977, pp.32-33).

2.3. SOIL

Iraq has soils which are markedly different from one another. This is due to important variations in soil parent material in climate and vegetation. In general, Iraq's soil is rich in organic matter and other nutrients, and is highly productive. The deposited alluvial

soils of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and their tributaries have added fertility to the soil. If we consider the whole country, it is possible to distinguish six principal soils in Iraq (Burinch, 1960, pp.77-78 and Khammo, 1977, pp.35-36 and Clawson, Landsbeny and Alexander, 1971, p.18).

(1) The alluvial soils are to be found in the central part of the country. These soils are heavy with a high clay content. Much of the agriculture of central and south eastern Iraq is located on these soils. These alluvial soils, greyish-brown in colour, have a consistently high, 20-30 per cent content of calcium carbonate and a small percentage of gypsum. They are reasonably permeable both laterally and vertically. The texture is generally fine silt, fine loam, or fine clay. Near the rivers they are coarser than this. Barley is widely grown as a winter crop, followed by wheat and other major crops. Cotton and rice are the main summer crops. Date palms are cultivated as an umbrella to protect citrus trees underneath and vegetables at ground level.

(2) Reddish brown soils occur on foothill land in the North. These deep heavy soils consist of clay loam, silty clay, loam and clay, and are important for agricultural use. This kind of soil is very marginal for cultivated crops such as wheat and barley. (Dziegiel, L. 1981, p.50).

(3) The grey desert soils appear on level and undulating plains mainly in the South east, East and North west. These soil textures range from clay to sandy soil.

(4) The saline soils have a relatively high water table, sometimes producing permanent marshland. These soils can be found in several large areas on the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. This type of soil is suitable for cultivation of wheat and barley and

vegetables. Rice is the major crop able to tolerate this level of salination.

(5) The desert soils occur in areas with a heavy low rainfall, generally less than 75 or 100 mm, which is not sufficient to maintain a continuous plant cover. They are generally sandy and gravelly, but in some places sandy loams are present. These soils support only seasonal grazing, The little vegetation consists of sparse desert plant and scattered shrubs which grow in the wadi (valley) bottom.

(6) Lithosols are shallow soils. In most places these soils are either sandy, gravelly or stony. On the desert plain these soils support seasonal pastures, while in the mountain region, such soil supports some tree growth.

Saied (1971, p.23) pointed out that the soils in Iraq are affected by many factors. The major impediment to the use of many basically good crop soils of the Mesopotamian plain is the salt that has accumulated during their use over the last six thousand years. Much of the land has been occupied and abandoned more than once because of the salt. Although the waters of the two main rivers are relatively low in soluble salts, the repeated wetting and drying out of the soils has often left enough salt to reduce or prohibit plant growth in a large area.

2.4. CLIMATE

Iraq has a Mediterranean type of climate, which is continental and sub-tropical, composed of summer and winter and it has relatively mild temperatures. Its rainfall occurs almost entirely in winter, autumn and spring.

The summer months last from May to September, with a temperature exceeding 48°C, thus reducing the human ability to work, especially during the middle of the day. The winter season is relatively mild lasting from December to March, January being the coldest month when temperatures near or below freezing point are experienced. In fact, two distinctive regions may be noticed: the mountainous region which more or less has a mediterranean climate, and the Mesopotemian plain and desert regions which have a sub-tropical climate with high temperatures and low humidity.

In the Northern mountain regions, there are areas of perpetual snow, some places have up to three months of snowfall. Annual precipitation is as much as 1300 mm (50 inches) in this area of parallel mountain ranges.

The valleys are used for crop production, both for rainfed winter grains and for irrigated summer crops. Where they are not too steep and rugged, the lower mountain slopes are used for grazing. The middle slopes have been and are still forested. The upper slopes and alpine meadows furnish grazing for sheep in the summer season (Clawson, M., Landesberg, L. and Alexander, 1971, p.18).

The foothills on the South-west side of the mountain region, namely, Mosul, Arbil and Kirkuk provinces areas, located in the North east of the Isohyetal line, are the most important dry farming areas in Iraq. It has an annual precipitation of 400 mm (16 inches). This is one of the first areas in the world used for grain production (Hassan, Y. 1975, p.26). Rainfall occurs in winter, while the remainder of the year, from April to October, remains hot and dry in

most of the central and southern parts of the country. So the outer plain, below the Isohyetal line, has a desert climate with about 155 mm (6 inches) average annual precipitation. The result of this fluctuation in precipitation here is less certain from year to year and the area is very marginal for cultivated crops such as wheat and barley.

In the South, summer is often referred to as the dead season. The intense summer heat has also had some adverse effects on agricultural machinery work. However, winter temperatures are considerably lower than the same latitudes on the Syrian coast. This is due to the presence of the snow-covered mountains in the Northern part of the country and the gigantic Asian land mass. The annual temperature differs from North to South, the average in the Northern region is 15.7°C , between 19.3°C and 30°C in the middle region and 34°C in the Southern region. The high averages of rainfall are found in the Northern region, with a maximum of 800 mm in the North west, whereas in the South the average varies from year to year. Table 2.1 shows the temperature and rainfall at selected meteorological stations in Iraq during 1978.

2.5. WATER RESOURCE

Water is a critical factor in the development of Iraq. Since rainfall is uncontrollable and insufficient over the great part of the country, the development of agriculture will continue to depend on the proper use of the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. In a dry country such as Iraq, the better use of water resources is considered to be fundamental to improving the utilization of the land as a whole.

TABLE 2.1 Iraq: Temperature and Rainfall at selected meteorological stations 1978

Location of the station	<u>Mosul</u>	<u>Baghdad</u>	<u>Rutba</u>	<u>Basrah</u>
	<u>Normal(1)</u>	<u>Normal</u>	<u>Normal</u>	<u>Normal</u>
<u>Temperature (C°)</u>				
Maximum	43.4	43.4	38.7	41.3
Minimum	2.5	4.9	1.7	7.0
<u>Rainfall - Milimetres(2)</u>				
January	67.8	25.4	13.6	22.5
February	64.2	24.2	13.6	13.8
March	69.6	23.7	15.4	20.2
April	50.8	22.3	16.7	20.4
May	24.7	8.1	15.1	7.8
June	0.7	2.8	0.1	TR.
July	0.1	TR.	TR.	0.1
August	0.0	TR.	TR.	TR.
September	0.7	0.3	0.6	TR.
October	9.9	3.7	5.4	1.0
November	36.1	17.2	13.3	22.8
December	67.3	22.9	16.8	30.3
Annual mean	391.9	150.6	110.6	138.9

NOTES: (1) The period of Normal is (30 years. (2) Milimetres = 0.0394 inches
 TR = Means drops of Rain.

SOURCE: Iraq, Annual abstract of statistics, 1978, pp.13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

Iraq is dominated by the Tigris and Euphrates river system. They are separate rivers until their confluence at their mouth, where they join to form the Shatt-Al-Arab which is a wide river about 400 metres across. Both of them rise in the mountain of Turkey. The Tigris river enters the country from the North, flowing some 1418 kilometres to Garmat Ali (*) in the South-east which accounts for about 82.5 per cent of the total length (i.e. 1718 kms) within Iraq's territory. The Euphrates river flows through Syria and enters Iraq from the West. Its total length is 2300 kms, 1213 kms. within Iraq's territory, or about 52.7 per cent of the total length. (Ministry of Planning, 1978, p.11). This, the Tigris river is much more a river of Iraq, than is the Euphrates.

In a country with a sufficient supply of water which could irrigate and make all of its cultivated land productive, at present only a small amount of available water is devoted to agriculture. Billions of cubic metres of water flow annually into the sea. When talking about the ability to carry out such expansion of the agricultural land, a question to be raised is that since the availability of water is the main determining factor in agriculture, how much water will be available to provide for such expansion? The answer will depend on how much the country will be able to organise the flow of water in the two main rivers, and reduce the wastage of water that goes down to the sea.

The distribution of water varies from season to season. As such,

(*) Previously the confluence of Tigris and Euphrates was at Qurna, but now Garmat Ali is considered the confluence.

the rivers reach their highest level in the flood season in the spring, and the lowest level during the dry season in summer. (*). The seasonal distribution of water supply, which represents periods of devastating floods alternating with periods of extreme shortage, does not coincide with crop needs, due to the low water discharge as shown in Figure 2.2. However, the two rivers pour down their flood waters in the spring, when the snow melts on the mountains. This is too late to benefit the winter crops, but too early in the summer to give sufficient time to prepare the fields for summer crops (except for rice in the South).

Fluctuations from year to year are great. For example, in 1935 the amount of water from the Tigris was 19 million cubic metres, while in 1963 it was 80 million cubic metres. The Euphrates followed the same pattern of fluctuations - 10 million cubic metres in 1930 and 42 million m³ in 1963. (Ministry of Agrarian Reform, 1964, p.3). Therefore, sufficient water is available to irrigate 22 million donums, which account for almost 46 per cent of the total cultivable land (i.e. 48 million donums), (El-Hadithy, and El-Dujaili, 1967, p.222). Although this figure is high in comparison to the percentage of land now being used under irrigation, 12 million donums, it is still less than half of the cultivable land. However, it could be used more effectively given an adequate drainage system by more intensive cropping i.e. more than once a year.

(*) It has been calculated that during the flood season, the main water discharge of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers is 2,572 and 1,765 cubic metres per second respectively, while in the dry season, the mean water discharge is 559 and 421 cubic metres per second respectively. This is according to Qubain, 1958, p.27 and International Bank, 1952, p.184.

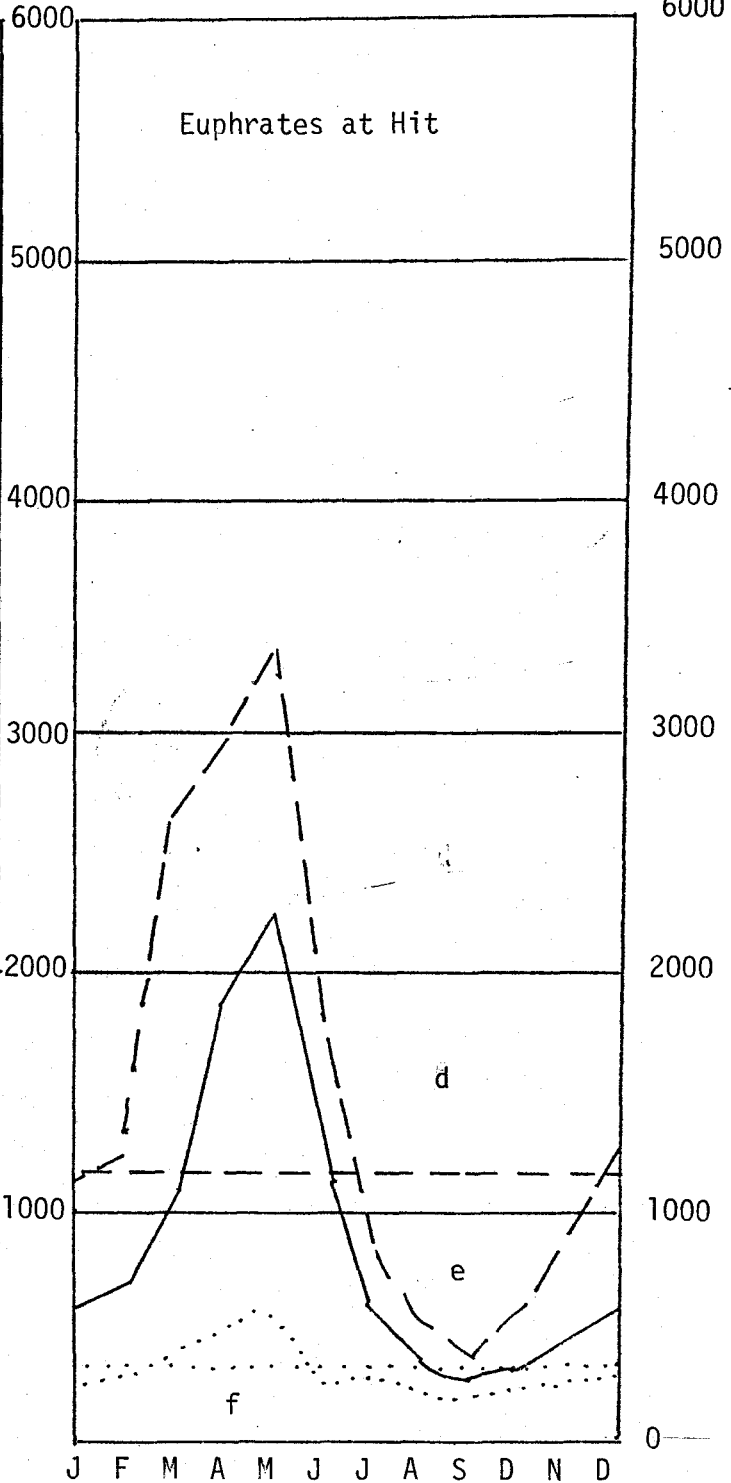
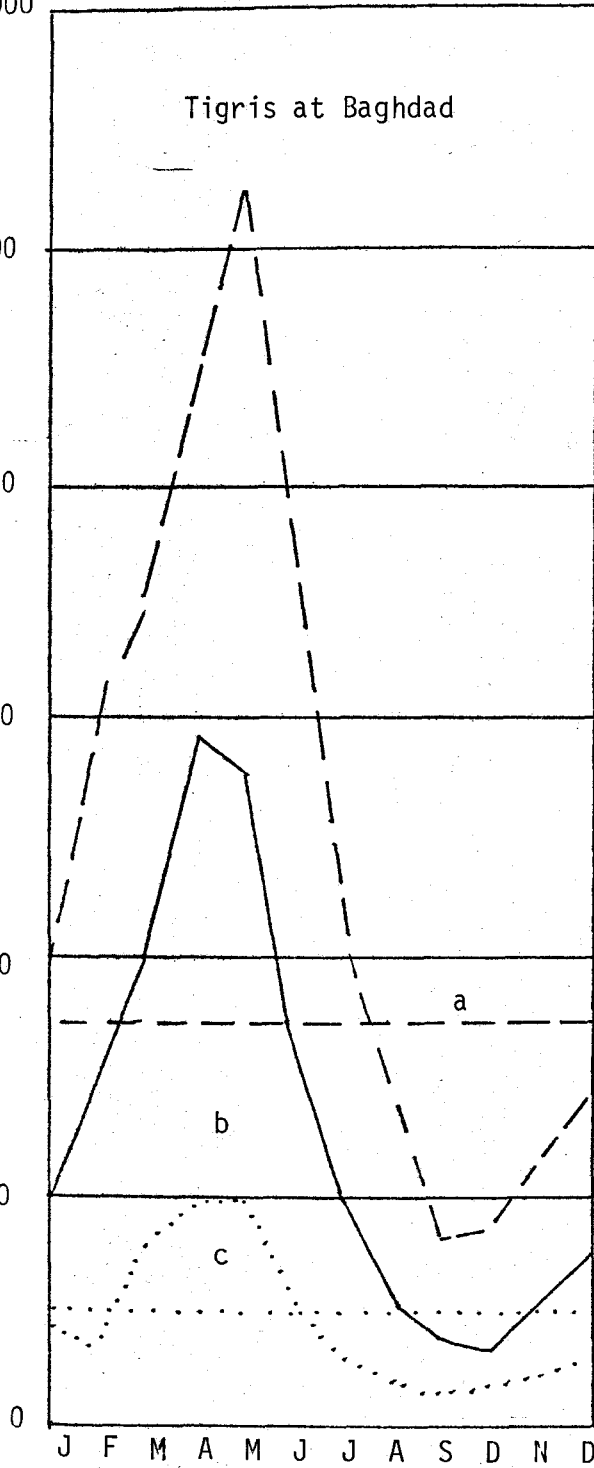
— Average mean monthly discharge
 Minimum mean monthly discharge
 - - - Maximum mean monthly discharge

M³PER SEC
6000

M³PER SEC
6000

Tigris at Baghdad

Euphrates at Hit



a Maximum mean yearly discharge (1946)
 b Average mean yearly discharge (1906-1946)
 c Minimum mean yearly discharge (1930)

d Maximum mean yearly discharge (1940)
 e Average mean yearly discharge (1924-1964)
 f Minimum mean yearly discharge (1931)

FIGURE 2.2 HYDROGRAPHS OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES RIVERS

When looking at the present storage capacity of the reservoirs which are built on the two rivers, we can see that although this capacity exceeds the possible amount of water which can be directed towards agriculture purposes, the construction of more of these reservoirs (is still required) to cope with the 83 per cent potential usage.

According to the United Nations (1974), the F.A.O. estimated that the water requirement in agriculture in 1970 was about 27 billion cubic metres for a cultivated area of 6.4 million donums (in the irrigated zone only) and estimated that by 1990 the total area cultivated in this region would increase to about 15.4 million donums, and the water requirement is expected to increase to about 45 billion cubic metres.

If this really is the situation after twenty years, our calculation indicates that by that time it will become possible to provide more than this amount of water on the basis of the following considerations:

(a) there already exists a storage capacity of about 13.70 billion cubic meters in the three main reservoirs built during the last twenty years.¹ (b) work has already been started on the construction of four other reservoirs with an estimated capacity of about 35.2 billion cubic meters² which are expected to be completed by 1985 or thereabouts. Therefore, by the late eighties there will be a capacity

1) These reservoirs are: Der-Bendi-Khan, Dokan and Habbaniya, whose capacities are, 3.25, 6.80 and 3.70 billion cubic meters respectively.

2) These reservoirs are: Haditha, Mosul, Himrin and Bachma, whose estimated capacities are, 11.2, 14.0, 2.0 and 8.0 billion cubic meters respectively.

See: Bashir, 1973, p.61).

of about 48 billion cubic metres ready to be utilized in agriculture, which will exceed the requirements for cultivating the above area of land. Moreover, the two main reservoirs (i.e. Al-Thurthur and Abul-Dibis) which are used at the moment to avoid flood destruction only, might add some further capacity and enable the achievement of the maximum level of water utilization. (Al-Dujaili, 1977, p.92).

Thus, development of water resources will increase the potential crop production of the country. It will help to substitute the present fallow system of crop rotation by a more productive farming system. Therefore, the control, regulation and management of the surface water resources will create great opportunities for the development of Iraq's agriculture.

2.6. LAND USE

In Iraq, large areas of cultivable land, an adequate supply of irrigation water from the main rivers system, and an enormous quantity of light energy from a year-round sunny climate present unique possibilities for agricultural development. A small proportion of the total cultivable land is under cultivation, so that vast areas with a high productive potential remain unused and suffer from human negligence.

The total area of Iraq is estimated at about 181.6 million donums, out of which 48 million donums are suitable for agriculture, which accounts for about 26.4 per cent of the total area of the country. 16 million donums of this area are located in the rain-fed zone, and the remaining 32 million donums are located in the irrigated zone.

However, the actual cultivable area is estimated at 23 million donums, or about 48 per cent of the total area suitable for agriculture (Table 2.2), but because of the primitive "Two field system"(*) and lack of rain in many areas during the summer season, only about 12 million donums are in fact cultivated annually, which accounts for about 25 per cent of the total cultivated area as can be seen from Table 2.3. Moreover, the actual cultivated area is classified according to the irrigation methods as shown in Table 2.4. This table shows that the land irrigated by rainfall accounts for 47.8 per cent of the total area, while 0.9 per cent is irrigated by other means.

However, the actual cultivable land area could be divided into three groups, first of all, land which does not need to be developed and is left fallow (23 million donums); secondly, land which is not currently exploited and needs partial development by digging canals and construction of drainage network; thirdly, land which needs extensive development, and which is now being surveyed for future projects. (Hashem, J. 1971, pp.5-6).

Furthermore, the actual cultivable area is utilised according to the two field system, namely, 50 per cent of the area is cultivated

(*) Two field system is used in growing winter crops, mainly wheat and barley, which occupy over 90 per cent of the area cultivated with winter crops. According to this system a crop year is alternated with a year or more of fallow. This system is traditional and still used for many reasons which differ from one area to another. In the North where dry agricultural conditions exist, the system is used to allow weeds to grow on the bare fields and then decay to restore some little soil fertility and to store moisture. In the Southern area of the country where the misuse of water in cultivation raises the water tables, and drainage is poor, salt will accumulate if the land is not left idle a year or two to allow natural drainage. In various other places, crop land is left idle simply because there is not enough water. A simple calculation reveals that this system has reduced the area which is available for annual cultivation by almost 40 per cent.

TABLE 2.2 Agricultural Land Area in Iraq

	Area (Million donums)	Percentage of		
		Total area	Cultivable area	Suitable for for culti- vation
Total area of Iraq	181.6	100.0		
Cultivable area	48.0	26.4	100.0	
Land suitable for cultivation	32.0	17.6	66.6	100.0
Land under cultivation	23.0	12.6	47.9	71.9
Land annually cultivated	10.4	5.7	21.7	32.5

SOURCE: Hashem, J. 1971, p.26.

TABLE 2.3 The classification of the actual cultivable land area according
to the method of utilisation

Type of land	Area in (1000 donums)
Total area annually cultivated	10,400
Total area left without uncultivated	11,200
Total area cultivated by fruit	500
Pasture grazing animals	900
TOTAL	23,000

SOURCE: Hashem, J. 1971, p.4.

TABLE 2.4 The classification of the actual cultivable land area according to the methods of irrigation.

Type of irrigation	Area in (1000 donums)
Area irrigated by rainfall	11,000
Area irrigated by flow	7,000
Area irrigated by water pumps	4,000
Area irrigated by water wheel	200
Area irrigated by other means	200
TOTAL	23,000

SOURCE: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Information, 1977, p.43.

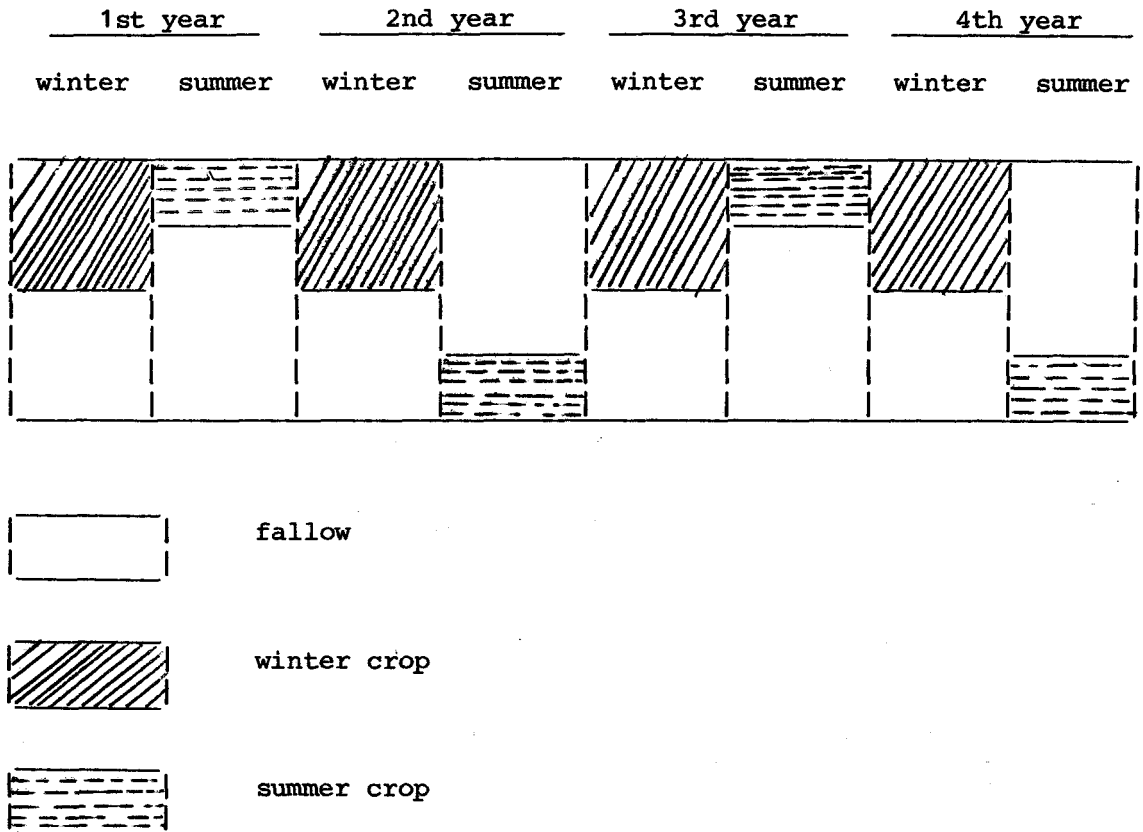
with the winter crops and 12 per cent is cultivated with summer crops. Altogether the utilised area totalled 62 per cent annually of the irrigated area as shown in Figure 2.3. In the rainfed area cultivation is limited to winter crops. This is due to the lack of rain in many areas in the dry summer. Two main reasons have been advanced for the "Two field" system on the rainfed and irrigated areas. Firstly that the land must be rested, and secondly that the fallow system conserves a year's moisture for the succeeding grain crop. There is a modicum of truth in the first, but practically none in the second proposition. In the absence of fertilizer use, it may well be that the soil could not produce a crop of grain every year, while the change in crop from grain to weeds undoubtedly helps to hold down the incidence of disease and insect pests on the grain. However little if any moisture is carried over from a weed fallow to the subsequent year's grain crop. (Clawson, Landsberg and Alexander, 1971, pp.127-128).

In terms of future agricultural development, Iraq has the largest percentage of unused, but potentially productive land of any country in the Near East. Table 2.5 presents the data for seven countries namely Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey and Jordan.

The unused but potentially cultivable land in Iraq is as much as 353 per cent of cultivated land, while in Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Turkey, it is 197, 136, 75, 29 and 47 per cent respectively.

FIGURE 2.3

FALLOW SYSTEMS IN IRAQ



SOURCE: Hassan, Y. 1975, p.51.

TABLE 2.5 Cultivated, Irrigated, and potentially productive land in Iraq and some other Near Eastern countries ('000 hectares).

Country	Cultivated land *		Unused but potentially productive	Unused potentially productive as % of cultivated land	Area irrigated as % of cultivated land
	Total	Irrigated			
Iraq	2,650	1,750	9,350	353	66
Iran	16,760	1,600	33,000	197	10
Syria	2,500	333	3,400	136	13
Lebanon	239	30	180	75	13
Egypt	2,445	2,445	700	29	100
Turkey	14,774	80	7,000	47	0.5
Jordan	480	25	n/a	n/a	5

* cultivated land is related to arable land including orchards and fallow.
n/a = not available.

SOURCE: Extract from data in: Food and Agricultural Organisation, Development Food and Agricultural resources in the Near East, 1956, p.51.

Moreover, except for Egypt, Iraq exceeds all other Middle East countries in the proportion of cultivated land under irrigation. Then the irrigated area accounts for 66 per cent of the cultivated land in Iraq and 10%, 13%, 13%, 0.5% and 5% for Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Iran respectively.

2.7. THE AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

The foregoing physical features and setting, produce three major agricultural regions in the country: the rainfed region, the irrigated region and the desert region.

Crop cultivation is practically confined to the first two regions; the third region is dominated by grazing by nomadic herds. However, only a brief description of each region is attempted below.

(1) The Rainfed Region.

This region is located in the North and North east part of Iraq, which contains about one-third of the country's cultivable land. The main feature of this region is its precipitation, which allows cultivation without irrigation. It receives a yearly rainfall equal or more than the average rainfall of 500 mm. annually. The rainfalls almost entirely between November and April. This rainfall is sufficient to permit the production of winter crops, such as wheat and

barley, without irrigation. (Rashid, N. 1972, p.11) It is, however, not adequate for growing summer crops. In the more mountainous areas, water from small springs and streams from the surrounding high lands is used to irrigate and grow on a small scale certain summer crops like tobacco, rice and cotton. These water resources could be greatly improved and more land brought into summer cultivation. Wheat and barley, the principal crops of the Northern rainfed area, are grown on the Southern foothill valleys and lower slopes. The cultivation of lower slopes also produces grapes, fruits tobacco and vegetables.

Livestock in this area has to depend, almost entirely, on grazing on the sparsely forested slopes and alpine pastures above the cultivations as well as the fallows, stubbles and other forages of the cultivated lands.

(2) Irrigated Region.

This is located in the central and Southern part of the country, covering an area of 60 million donums. The largest part of it consists of alluvial plains formed by sediment deposits from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers system. It covers average annual rainfall of less than 140 mm, which is also irregular and falls mainly between November and March. (Rashid, 1972, p.11) At the Southern end of the alluvial plain lie extensive marshlands. This region may be divided into three sub-regions; the upper river valleys, the lower river valley down to Maysan and Thi-Qar provinces, and the triangular area from Thi-Qar and Mayson to the mouth of the Shatt-Al-Arab. (Al-Bayati, 1969, pp.40-42).

(i) The upper river valley. This sub-region includes most of the Northern Jazirah and the area North of Baghdad and East of the Tigris. It covers an area of 24 million donums. Most of this sub-region is not suitable for irrigation due to the elevation and configuration of the land which makes irrigation without extensive pumping somewhat difficult and limited. The annual precipitation is between 100-300 mm. It is possible to bring certain parts of it under irrigation by the use of modern irrigation techniques.

The Yazidis (a small ethnic group), who inhabit the upper part of the Jazirah, practice arable land pastoral farming. The other parts of the Jazirah are almost uninhabited, but in spring large flocks of sheep and herds of camels occupy the bedouin pastures. These areas contain several wells and springs which can be tapped at that time of the year.

Due to these situations, this sub-region can be considered as part of "the region of uncertainty" where neither surface water nor annual precipitation is enough to ensure permanent cultivation.

(ii) The lower river valley. This sub-region includes the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates South of Anbar and Baghdad provinces, and also the Diala river valley. It covers an area of about 36 million donums. The annual precipitation ranges between 5-20 mm., which is insufficient for rainfed cultivation. Most of Iraq's irrigation development has taken place in this part of the country, where most of the irrigated crops are produced. More remote areas are provided with water through major irrigation canals which connect these areas to the Hindiyah barrage on the Euphrates and the Kut barrage on the Tigris and the Diala weir on the Diala river.

The alluvial soil of this part is extremely fertile, but because

of lack of drainage and uncontrolled floods during the distant past, such land has become saline. Barley is the principal crop, followed by wheat, lentils and vetch. Because of water shortage, summer crops occupy only about one-third the area of winter crops (Quentin, 1958, p.26).

Cotton and rice are the main summer crops, others are sorghum, sesame, green gram and millet. Dates are widely grown both for domestic and foreign markets, which makes Iraq one of the worlds leading producers.

(iii) The third sub-region lies in a triangle between Basrah, Maysau and Thi-Qar provinces. It consists of alternating marsh areas and low mud plains. This region is flat and has swamps scattered here and there. Rice as the main summer crop is grown in the naturally inundated marshland and the fringes of the lakes. The world's largest date palm plantation lies along the two banks of the Shatt-Al-Arab, producing about 80 per cent of the total world trade in dates (Khammo, 1977, p.51).

(3) The Desert Region

This region is located in the South and South-west and occupies about 40 per cent of the total area of the country. It is divided into two vast areas, the Northern and the Southern desert. Neither of these deserts is at present suitable for agriculture. The desert and steppe ranges are grazed in winter and spring. In summer, live-stock are moved to the cultivated areas of the irrigated region and graze the river and canal banks, the stubble of winter crops and fallow land. (Treakle, H. 1965, p.6).

2.8. THE ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

In this section we briefly present the two major farming activities of crop and livestock production.

2.8.1. CROP PRODUCTION

The type of crops currently grown in Iraq falls broadly under the categories of winter and summer crops. The first are grown between October and February, and the second are grown between March and September. The winter crops are important and account for about 90 per cent of the total land use. The dominance of winter crops is attributed to the inadequacy of the water supply in the summer. Table 2.6 presents the production and yields of the major winter and summer crops in the country. During the period 1959-1978, the area for cultivation of the five major crops (wheat, barley, rice, cotton and tobacco) decreased from 10.8 million donums to 9.2 million donums. (see Table (A) appendix) This, however, was accompanied by an increase in the average yield per donum for wheat, barley, rice, cotton and tobacco. The average yield per donum for wheat increased from 140.3 kg. for the period 1959-1968 to 228.0 kg. for the period 1969-1978, while that for barley declined from 352.1 kg. to 263.5 kg. during the same periods. The average yield per donum for rice declined from 474.1 kg. to 352.2 kg. for the above two periods. Also the average yield per donum for cotton increased for the above periods from 228.9 kg. and 194.7 kg. to 326.1 kg. and 210.0 kg. respectively. The reasons for the differences in the yields for various crops are explained in detail in Chapter three.

TABLE 2.6 Major crops production, yield/donum 1959-1968 - 1969-1978

Crops		1959-1968	1969-1978
Wheat	(production (a)	879.2	1191.5
	(yield (b)	104.3	228.0
Barley	(production	1497.2	634.1
	(yield	352.1	263.5
Rice	(production	178.8	92.0 (c)
	(yield	474.1	352.2
Cotton	(production	24.7	36.2
	(yield	210.4	326.1
Tobacco	(production	10.4	10.6
	(yield	194.7	228.9

SOURCE: Derived from Table (A) Appendix.

(a) Production in ('000 tons)

(b) yield (kilo/donums)

(c) This figure calculated for five years only

<u>NOTE:</u>	<u>Average yield</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Rice</u>	<u>Cotton</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>
	1959-1963	137.7	220.0	350.6	182.0	199.0
	1964-1968	158.0	202.5	566.9	270.9	200.8
	1969-1973	223.4	279.5	677.4*	323.2	242.6
	1974-1978	185.4	226.0	686.3**	320.5	197.0

* calculated for five years.

** calculated for two years.

The Major Winter Crops in the Northern Part of Iraq (rainfall zone)

Wheat is the main product in the rainfed area which covers about 78 per cent of the cultivated land. The production of the year 1977-78 reached 5109313 donums as shown in Table (2.7a).

Besides this, there are about 300,000 donums cultivated in wheat in the governorates of Salah Al-Deen, Dialya, Maysan and Wasit. The area cultivated in barley reached 1,278,099 donums in the same year, which accounts for about 19.5 per cent, also 874,00 donums in other governorate outside the rainfed area, such as Salah Al-Deen, Diala, Maysan and Wasit. But lentils and chick peas cover about 2 per cent only of the rainfed area. The production in the rainfed area shows a clear decrease (Table 2.7a). However, the rain cannot be taken as the only cause of this decrease. In the area where the rain is assured, wheat covers about 70 per cent of the cultivated land, whereas barley covers about 21 per cent. The statistics in the above table show a decrease in land use for lentils and chick peas for the year 1977-78, which is due to the harvest which is done by hand, and this increases the wage rate.

There are some Qadahs (*) of Nineveh province, especially Al-Hamdaniya, Tal-Kaif and Mosul centre, where barley represents the highest percentage in comparison with others. For example, sheep breeding activities and the need of these animals depends on this product.

(*) Qadah: is the second administrative level, containing more than one Nahia which is the smallest administrative unit.

TABLE (2.7a) 1. The regions with assured rainfall

Governorate	Qadah	Wheat	Barley	Lentils	Chick pea
Nineveh	Agra	169532	25006	10944	6731
	Shikhan	78219	6265	9734	2366
D'hok	D'hok	88989	10821	3715	1874
	Amadiya	9374	4587	1235	1030
	Zakho	2864	15288	3317	661
Arbil	Chuman	2885	1497	83	202
	Rawandooz	15595	4534	158	484
	Shaglawar	65538	26976	7146	744
	Zibar	4458	1224	208	202
Sulamaniya	Panjwin	9465	3017	818	185
	Rania	26026	5471	1363	1215
	Chamchamal	81201	57708	2439	1207
	Der Bendi Khan	27621	7303	2878	25
	Shahar ba Zar	25745	8642	10716	8189
	Kalar	69471	34678	3	-
	Halabcha	77801	14595	7142	513
	Dokan	48999	13400	6719	4547
	Al-Sulamaniya	89138	23329	17279	1003
	Pishder	29679	12267	698	1200
TOTAL		922590	276608	86595	32378
% of Total		70.0	21.1	6.6	2.6
General total		5109313	1278099	95471	40006
% of the general total		78.3	19.6	1.5	0.6

SOURCE: Rainfall agriculture in Northern Iraq, 1979, p.127.

In the regions with limited rain, wheat represents the highest percentage from the three rainfall regions. This product covers about 83.5 per cent of the cultivated land, while barley decreases to represent 16.3 per cent only. Barley is, in fact, the biggest product in these dry areas. Lentils and chick peas account for about 0.2 per cent of the total product in this region due to the limited rain as shown in table (2.7b).

In the medium region, the rain increases the production of wheat in this area to some extent, and represents about 76.7 per cent of the land. Barley covers nearly 23 per cent of land, but the percentage of lentils and chick peas has decreased to 0.5 per cent only, and is limited to the outskirts near the area where the rain is assured i.e. in places where the rain is more than 400 mm. (see Table 2.7c).

The Major Crops in the Central and Southern Part of Iraq (irrigated zone).

The major summer crops grown in these parts of the country are rice, cotton and tobacco. In addition the minor crops including sesame, green gram, millet, maize, sorghum and cow peas are also cultivated.

TABLE (2.7b) The distribution of rainfed crops in the three regions with limited, medium and assured rain of the year 1977-1978

2. The regions of limited rain

Governorate	Qadah	Wheat	Barley	Lentils	Chick pea
Nineveh	Telafar	265043	72954	9	-
	Hadhar	322481	32959	-	-
	Ba'ag	435567	63650	-	-
	Shirqat	446917	67156	-	-
Al-Ta'meem	Debis	159957	56398	-	-
	Hawijaa	251901	71470	73	17
	Makhmour	499161	171657	3572	2296
TOTAL		2381057	464774	3645	2313
% of Total		83.5	16.3	0.1	0.1

SOURCE: Rainfall agriculture in Northern Iraq, 1979, p.125.

TABLE (2.7c)

3. The region with medium rainfall

Governorate	Qadah	Wheat	Barley	Lentils	Chick pea
Nineveh	Tel-kaif	25536	14213	564	1231
	Sinjar	782433	9532	62	655
	Al-Hamdaniya	107936	71548	83	2182
	Mosul	362162	149142	309	773
Al-Ta'meem	Tuz	195336	104423	-	-
	Hassan	94339	82362	72	52
Arbil	Coysinjak	55699	28681	3572	2296
	Arbil	87889	76816	569	
TOTAL		1805666	536717	0231	7189
% of Total		76.7	22.8	0.2	0.3

SOURCE: Rainfall agriculture in Northern Iraq, 1979, p.126.

RICE is grown in all areas of the country, but especially in the South (*). The area under rice cultivation increased from 251,300 donums in 1959 to 253,900 donums in 1977. Also production increased from 88,500 tons to 199,200 tons in the same period. This is due to the improved yield from 372.1 to 784.6 tons in the same period as shown in Table (A) appendix.

Rice is grown under generally more favourable soil and water conditions than wheat and barley. The largest production provinces are Maysan, Al Qadisiya and Babylon.

The methods of rice cultivation in Iraq are very primitive, and even in a good year, average output per donum hardly reaches 600 kgs. (Susa, 1946, p.19) because of the lack of management experience and fertilizer use. Since rice is a major part of the country's diet, the total output is wholly consumed within the country, and moreover, in a year of low yield, rice has to be imported. The local experiments have demonstrated that the combination of improved rice output with seed, fertilisation and good management can increase yields per donum to more than 600 kgs. (The Ministry of Agriculture, 1970, p.14).

COTTON is mainly grown in the irrigated zone, and also in the rainfall zone especially in Sulaimaniya and Mosul provinces. The crop is planted in early April and harvested in the autumn. In the past cotton

(*) Apart from small amounts grown in the mountainous area in the North, which is wholly dependent on water from springs. The marshes of the lower Tigris and Euphrates yield the bulk of the total rice cultivation. Almost 95% of the total rice output is produced in the irrigated zone, and 5% comes from the rainfed zone, (see Al-Bayati, 1969, p.85).

was grown on a very small scale to meet the limited demand of local craft industry. It has become an important commercial crop since the introduction of the textile industry in 1940. The cotton industry caters for both domestic and foreign markets. There is a regular domestic demand from the recently installed textile mills and ginneries. Since 1960 up to four-fifths of the total annual production has been used domestically, but increased production would most likely find further foreign markets. In 1962 only 1.6 thousand tons were exported, compared with 4.5 thousand tons in 1957 and a 1950-55 export average of 2.9 thousand tons. (Al-Bayati, 1969, pp.87-88). The crop can supply many of the emerging industries with raw materials in the form of fibre and seed. It can also create new employment opportunities within agriculture as well as in other sectors of the economy. In recent times average annual production per donum has increased from 23,986 in 1959-63 to 30,541 in 1974-78. Although the area under cultivation declined from 680,738 to 481,179 donums in the same period, production increased from 119,933 tons in 1959-63 to 152,705 tons in 1974-78 (Table (A) appendix). This is most likely due to the better techniques of cultivation and mechanisation.

TOBACCO was introduced into Iraq by trade caravans during the seventeenth century. It is primarily grown in the Northern part of the country, especially in the provinces of Arbil and Sulaimaniya. The latter province produces more than 80 per cent of the country's tobacco crop. The Arbil province is the next important tobacco producing area. About 50 per cent of the crop produced in the North is of the flue-cured type. Oriental, burley and tombac types make up the rest (Al-Bayati, 1969, pp.88-89, Parker, 1964, p.11). The crop is still of indifferent quality, and unlikely to attract foreign customers or to

compete in keenly competitive outside markets. However, the crop offers employment for more than 50,000 peasants who in turn employ thousands of farm workers. Moreover, it is an important source of revenue for the government which strictly controls all phases of the tobacco industry through the Tobacco Monopoly Organisation (TMO). Thus, the cultivation, sale, purchase and export of tobacco are subject to the overall control of the TMO which licenses the area to be cultivated and purchases the crop from the producers. The peasants sell to the organisation the largest part of their product, and what is left is either self-consumed or sold on the black market.

Tobacco cultivation is an important crop for the farmers in the North. All the crop produced is used locally by cigarette manufacturers and others. The average annual production per donum decreased from 9128 tons in 1959-1963 to 8563 tons in 1974-1978, and the average annual area cultivated also fell from 47,875 to 42,576 donums in the same period. This was probably due to the war in the North of Iraq.

VEGETABLES The principal winter vegetables are carrots, cabbage, cauliflower, spinach, swiss chard, lettuce, green onion, broad beans, turnip and green beans. The principal summer vegetables are the tomato, okra, aubergine, cucumber, squash, water melon, sweet melon, green pepper and potato (see table (B) appendix).

The principal winter and summer vegetables mentioned above are grown throughout the country, especially around urban areas where they can be easily transported to the domestic and consumption markets. However, vegetables produced in the rainfed region are often marketed

to the city centres in the irrigated region, and early spring vegetables from the latter region are sent to the large urban area in the North. Despite the existence of a great potentiality for the development of vegetable production in Iraq, the expansion achieved so far has not been sufficient to meet the increase in domestic demand of nearby Arab countries especially Kuwait.

The production of vegetables is, therefore necessary only for supply the urban market and for export. But this supply is hindered by (1) lack of good transportation and storage facilities, since the vegetables spoil quickly and require either immediate delivery or refrigeration, and (2) the irregularity of water supply in the summer.

Priority in labour use is given to grain cultivation, while the growing of vegetables is given only little attention. These conditions result in considerable losses to both national income and foreign exchange. For example, in 1963 Iraq paid 1.4 million I.D. to import some vegetables (Al-Hudithy, 1965, p.20), all of which could have been produced easily and profitably in the country. Increased production could play an important role in increasing low income and would also contribute to raising the standard of living of the peasants.

FRUIT PRODUCTION The main fruit in Iraq is dates, which are considered the most important tree crop in the country. According to the government estimates, there were over 124,650,000 palm trees in 1978, occupying an area of about 757,000 donums. (Iraq Ministry of Planning, 1978, p.74).

The average annual production and export of dates during the

TABLE 2.8 Average Annual production and export of dates in Iraq,
1948-1973 ('000 tonnes)

Years	Production	Export
1948 - 1952	242	220.8
1953 - 1957	372	244.6
1958 - 1962	338	211.6
1963 - 1967	374	301.6
1968 - 1973	393	n/a

SOURCES: Compiled from data in: Al-Azzawi, 1962, p.127,
 and Iraq, Ministry of planning, 1965, 1967 and
 1974.

period 1948-1973 is presented in Table 2.8. Iraq is considered to be the worlds leading date producer and dates constitute a significant item of the agricultural exports. The main fruits besides dates are grapes, pomegranates, oranges and apples. In spite of the fruits being grown throughout the country, the main regions for producing fruits are the Northern mountains and the Diala valley in the central part of the country.

In fact, there are over 460 varieties of dates in Iraq, of which over 450 are female varieties which produce the fruit. According to government estimates, the total number of female date palms, for all kinds of country level were 20,947,000 in 1978, with a total production of 389,030 tons, as shown in Table 2.8a. However, of all the female varieties only four are found in large numbers; and they account for nearly 85 per cent of the producing palms. Of these 55.5 per cent are Zahdi varieties, 15 per cent Sayer, 8.8 per cent Hillawi and 5.6 per cent Khistawi. The last three varieties are grown in Shatt-Al Arab area and Basrah province.

Iraq contributes over 26 per cent of the world production. (F.A.O. 1956, p.83) and between 75 and 80 per cent of the world trade in dates (F.A.O., 1957, pp.124-125).

2.8.2. LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

Livestock serves many purposes such as providing draught power for farming operations, supplying food in the form of meat and milk, and furnishing local craft manufacture with organic raw material such as wool, hair, skins and hides.

TABLE 2.8a Estimated total production of dates by main and
secondary kinds of country level, 1978

Kind	Total number of female date-palms ('000 trees)	Total number of fruitful date-palms ('000 trees)	Average Production per fruitful tree (kg.)	Total production (10 tons)
Zahdi	11643	10175	29.4	29895
Khistawi	1179	873	26.8	2341
Khadrawi	913	799	7.9	628
Dary	423	394	10.9	427
Sayer	3220	2874	7.1	2032
Hillawi	1837	1650	5.4	893
Chapchap	345	239	16.6	397
Braim	119	98	15.2	149
Other	1268	1036	20.7	2141
TOTAL	20947	18138	21.4	38903

SOURCE: Government of Iraq, Ministry of Planning, 1978, p.80.

The importance of livestock raising in Iraq's economy is that on average livestock and livestock products during the period 1953-61 contributed about 38 per cent of the total value of agricultural output (Haseeb, 1964, pp.46-72).

There is a good local as well as foreign market for the livestock of Iraq. Every year, a number of sheep, goats, cattle and camels are exported to Kuwait, Jordan and Syria, while horses and mules are sold to Ceylon, India, France and the nearby Arab countries. As for livestock products, wool, skins, hides, camel's hair and goat's hair are exported to some Middle Eastern countries and European countries. Moreover, as the economy progresses, local demand for livestock products will undoubtedly increase. There is a great opportunity, especially in the North, for the development of animal husbandry. An extensive programme for the improvement of various aspects of the livestock enterprise is needed. Such a programme may be in the field of better feeding and shelter and in adopting simple sanitary measures. This offers faster and better results in Iraq than undertaking the complicated business of artificial insemination or bringing foreign stocks to improve the local animals. The livestock found in Iraq at the present time consists of hardy animals which through the process of natural selection have become fairly resistant to the rigours imposed by a severe climate and inadequate supplies of feed. (Al-Bassam, 1959, p.104).

We need to mention the importance of mixed farming in increasing farmers' income, giving more year round employment to farmers and in improving agricultural productivity. Mixed farming would take animal manure available in larger quantity which could be used in maintaining

soil fertility and productivity. Moreover, mixed farming would decrease the danger of dependence on a single crop and would also supply the family with more diversified food of higher nutritional value. But the real obstacle to the development of mixed farming and which prevents livestock from becoming an integral part of agriculture is partly social and partly economic.

The economic obstacle can be found in the system of land tenure of Iraq. Sharecropping systems discourage the cultivation of animal fodder since the customary apportionment of shares between the landlord and the peasant does not lend itself readily to such crops. As Alwan pointed out:

"Where sharecroppers are inclined to have some livestock, the peasant may be discouraged by the lack of crops or by the shifting of the area assigned to him of cultivation".
(Alwan, 1956, p.108).

The social obstacle can be found in the tribal traditions, which hold in low esteem any occupation which has to deal with the raising of livestock and selling produce in the market. Table 2.9 gives the livestock population for the years 1953-1978. Also Table 2.10 shows the distribution of livestock in Iraq.

2.9 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, one may conclude that the available water resources, which are a critical factor in the agricultural development of the country, have been used so lavishly that large tracts of the agricultural land have seriously deteriorated as a result of water logging and salt accumulation in the soil as Khammo states:

TABLE 2.9 Average Annual livestock population in Iraq
1953-57 - 1973-78 ('000 head)

Year	1953-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-72	1973-78
Sheep	5551	9992	28986	13279	13290
Goats	2573	2879	2139	1984	2751
Cattle	1463	1930	1713	1931	2045
Buffaloes	263	375	373	427	235
Camels	210	150	173	309	200
Horses	230	250	173	121	91
Mules	94	127	99	61	34
Donkeys	487	513	508	303(*)	268

SOURCES: Compiled from data in:

(a) Hasseb, 1964, p.62, Al-Dahiry, 1965, p.196.

(b) Iraq Ministry of Planning, 1972, 1974 and 1978, p.69, 43 and 105 respectively.

(c) F.A.O., 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975 and 1978.

(*) This figure is calculated for 3 years only.

TABLE 2.10 The distribution of livestock in Iraq

Region	Percentage			
	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Buffaloes
Northern	46.0	78.0	32.0	9.0
Central	31.0	13.0	38.0	17.0
Southern	23.0	9.0	30.0	74.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Hasan, 1966, p.111.

"there is a marked variation in the flow (a flood season and a dry season), which has adverse effects on cultivation. Aside from the salinity problem in the irrigated areas, soil types in both irrigated and rainfed zones are suitable for cultivation. Finally, it is mentioned that the wide range of crops that are cultivated in the country, provided scope for further crop diversification which would mean tighter farming schedules. This is likely to create a better situation for the utilisation of the available resources". (Khammo, 1977, p.504).

However, Iraq has only about 48% of the total cultivable land under cultivation and, because of the primitive "two field system" and the lack of rain in different parts of the country during the summer season, the land actually cultivated annually does not exceed 25% of the total area under cultivation in the best circumstances.

Moreover, the farming activities of crop and livestock production make up two-thirds and one-third respectively of the value of agricultural output. However, crop production falls generally into the categories of the important winter crops and the less important summer crops, this is due to climatic factors - winter precipitation and summer drought accompanied by the subsistence nature of agriculture, whereby the peasant gives priority to the cultivation of crops for direct consumption e.g. wheat and barley rather than to commercial crops.

We have, therefore, set out in this study to analyse the impact of land reform upon agricultural production in Iraq. We shall examine in the next chapter the level of agricultural production in relation to Iraq's system of land tenure. Government policy towards the agricultural sector will also be discussed. As we shall see, the land tenure system in Iraq is divided into four types of ownership (i.e. Mulk, Matruka, Wagf and Miri-Sirf). Moreover, the last categories were

divided into three sub-categories: Miri-Tapu, Miri-Lezma and Miri-Sirf. The land reform laws No. 30 of 1958 and No. 117 of 1970 will be fully discussed. These laws were an attempt to break up the structure of feudalism in rural Iraq as it existed before 1958, when the big landowners owned approximately 14 million donums of the total cultivable land (23 million donums). The remaining 9 million donums were owned by 165,499 persons. This class relation in rural Iraq proves that the majority of the population which lived in rural areas and worked mainly in agriculture depended one way or another on the big and middle landlords.

In the same chapter I am going to discuss the governments objectives through the agricultural co-operative societies which were: firstly, to organise the land tenure system within the state farms; secondly, to improve the social conditions of the peasants; thirdly, to increase the production levels of a wide range of farm products; fourthly, to introduce new techniques i.e. mechanisation, fifthly, to limit the rural exodus; sixthly, to educate people into the political affairs of the country, and then their support.

Finally, in order to understand the role of government policy in the area of agricultural development, I shall deal in the following chapter with land tenure and the land reform programmes and the effect of the application of these systems on agricultural development and on the living standard of the peasants.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVOLUTION OF LAND TENURE IN IRAQ AND ITS REFORM

FROM 1932 UP TO 1978

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the evolution of land tenure in Iraq from the Ottoman empire to the present time. In spite of the various invasions and the inherited economic infrastructure, the organisation of Iraqi agriculture reflected the political social and economic forces of the time. The following sections will provide a historical overview of the system of land tenure in the country and then an account of the two main land reforms of 1958 and 1970 which have been introduced and implemented by successive governments.

3.2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LAND TENURE FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO EARLY 1958

Iraq has been occupied by the Mongols, the Ottoman and the British powers. They have all made their contribution to the existing land system. All these powers were interested in extracting as much as they could from the country, and little attention was paid to the welfare of the people. They had been highly prosperous during the pre-Islamic and Abbaside eras, but now found themselves in the most confused state, so far as agricultural production and distribution were concerned during the national period up to the present time (Ali, 1955, p.53).

However, Baali (1966, (a) p.172 has pointed out that some of the earliest written records from the reign of Hammurabi, concerned with issues related to landownership, were based on specific documents together with the code of Hammurabi. In his reign (2124-2081 B.C.) the crown and merchants owned large tracts of land. Later on (1760-

1185 B.C.) the Kassite kings granted huge areas of land to powerful chiefs. Tribal ownership also existed in that time. Land was held collectively for the purpose of irrigation. In both periods a very large percentage of the peasantry were slaves, responsible for cultivating the privately owned land of their masters.

The Islamic period was also characterised by the existence of large landed property, which at the time was the most widespread form of land ownership (Bonne, A. 1955, p.122).

The features of the land tenure system prevailing in this period have been established as follows:

Kharaj land: The land which belonged to non-Moslems was left in their possession, provided that these landowners paid the land tax.

Ushr* land: The land was taken and divided among the Moslems, unless the owner of the land adopted Islam. In the latter case, he might keep the land, but one-tenth of the income from it had to be paid to the state. These revenues from Ushr were devoted to the Zakat (alms for poor people) (Baali, 1966, (b) p.10).

The land which was not divided among the military officers, and which lacked possessors or was not claimed by the heirs of former owners, became the property of the state. The uncultivated land might be granted to individuals if they promised to cultivate and irrigate it. If they failed to cultivate the land, it could be seized from

* Ushr: means "tithe".

them "at the close of three years" unless there is a satisfactory reason for their failure to use it. (Baali, (b) p.10). During these three years they paid nothing to the state. Moreover, they had the right to dispose of the land, but in this case they were required to pay a certain amount of money to the state.

During the Abbasid period (742-1258 A.D.), agriculture flourished along with the other fields of commerce, science and culture. Huge irrigation schemes and channels were constructed, and farming was a profitable occupation. The land however was not fairly distributed and at the end of this period the classification of land became as follows:

- "(1) Estates belonging to the caliphs or (kings) and princes.
- (2) Land grants which were of two types:
 - a. Underdeveloped land, granted by the caliphs on the condition that the receiver would reclaim and develop the land. The title for such land was also transferred to the developers.
 - b. Land granted to the civil and military officials who were willing to accept the return from the land in payment for the services rendered during the period of service. The title for such land remained in the name of the government.
- (3) Private lands, which include lands purchased from the caliphs and princes and granted to be reclaimed.
- (4) Waqf lands which had been presented by their legal owners to be held in trust for public or private benefits.
- (5) Mushāa or public domain which were state lands, but the right of use was common to the public and included roads and pasture lands". (Ali, 1955, pp.45-55).

However, the Abbasid caliphs became complacent and less and less attention was being paid to the security of the realm. Thus the land was not only a tempting prize, but an easy prey for prospective raiders or conquerors. Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries

raids became more frequent, until in 1256 Baghdad itself was sacked by Hulagu Khan, and the country incorporated into the Mongol empire. In A.D. 1258 the Mongols invaded Iraq. This period is regarded as the darkest period in Iraq's history. The invaders had no respect for the economic, social and political structures of the civilisation they had overthrown, being interested solely in plunder to further their war efforts (Nyrop, R. 1971, pp.34-35). In addition to the deliberate destruction of many irrigation schemes and channels, the blooming gardens and green fields gradually became waste land and the desert encroached on the farm land. Clashes between Mongols and Iraq's tribes occurred from time to time over the use and control of the agricultural land. There is no doubt that the country suffered much more than can be imagined during this period. In fact, only in the twentieth century did Iraq begin to recover from the deterioration and corruption rampant during the Mongolian occupation.

These conditions continued to prevail during the Ottoman occupation (1534-1917). When the Ottoman occupied Iraq in 1534, the vast fiefs of the Mongols were abolished and the whole country became part of the colonial Ottoman empire. Whereas, except for some areas recognised as Mulk* and Waqf** land, all the remaining areas became state property which held them in trust from the Code.*** (Al-Azzawi, A. 1936, p.36).

* Absolute private property.

** Mortmain or land dedicated to some religious purpose or for the benefit of the descendants of its original owner.

*** The land code consists of the land law itself and a number of subsidiary enactments made in the succeeding years. The land law comprises 132 articles which do not apply to Mulk lands and Waqf, i.e. Mulk land dedicated to religious uses.

The Ottoman government was interested only in collecting taxes. Some of the tribes, however, were in a position to refuse payment, and fought for, and sometimes held their independence. The government was trying to break the tribal system in order to civilise the tribes which had become a formidable power in the country. The attempt to break this system necessitated the introduction of some land reform measures as will be seen later. But the Ottoman authority could not achieve much success, because the tribal system was strong enough to tolerate it and survive. (Al-Bayati, 1969, p.125).

The tribal system existed generally until the beginning of the twentieth century, and in some parts of the country it prevailed until the enactment of the agrarian reform law. (Haider, S. 1942, p.86). Under this system, each tribe held part of the cultivated area called dirah which it considered to be exclusive for the use of its own members. A third or even a half, of the cultivated area was set aside to provide revenue for the shaikh* to discharge his political duties, which then included the maintenance of a tribal militia, the provision of hospitals and keeping the mudhif (the coffee house, the village hall, and the civic and social centre of the tribe). This share was therefore, not attached directly to the person of the shaikh. The rest of the land was sometimes distributed among the families of the tribe, according to the numbers of fighters who had helped to seize the land from another tribe, or according to the amount of land reclaimed. However, the land was cultivated in small plots by the tribal subsection or clans under the direction of the sirkal (sub-tribal chief), who organised the number of tribes on a sharecropping basis, the

* The shaikh means a leader of a tribe, a religious leader, an elder or a landlord. In rural Iraq this word has come to mean a landlord.

peasant generally receiving a half or two-fifths, or one-third of the produce. (Warriner, D. 1948, pp.104-105). However, even on these individually held plots, communal ownership was manifested in many ways. For example the sub-tribal chief and individual holders of land could be shifted from their holdings by the tribal chief. Then there existed the right of pre-emption and veto of the tribe over transfer of land from one member to another and particularly to outsiders. The members of the tribe were always referred to outsiders for cultivation of the land.

The tribal land tenure system disquieted the Ottoman authority for a long time. In 1847, the Ottoman government took steps to prevent the spread of land grabbing by both the tribes and the influential shaikhs and aghas^{*}. A decision was taken to create a system of individually held property called Tasarruf to replace the prevailing communal forms of tribal tenure. This system again was so designed as to break up the tribal system, to eliminate the power of tribal chiefs and to centralise the power of the Ottoman authorities in the rural areas of Iraq in order to make it easier to levy taxes upon the land held by individuals on the basis of the new Tasarruf system. (Al-Bayati, 1969, pp.132-133) However, this system was not based on a distinct legal basis, several tribal chiefs and city notables claimed rights to large areas by the simple expedient of occupying them without making any particular effort to obtain legal sanction. This period commonly saw the selling and purchasing of lands in addition to occupation by force, a situation which progressively helped

* Kurdish tribal chief carried either the title of "agha" or that of "beg".

to intensify the critical nature of the confusion and chaos. This was felt around the 1850s, and fundamental change in the existing conditions of land tenure was desperately needed.

Meanwhile, partly because of the need for taxes and partly to breakdown the tribal system and to extend the control of the central government to the tribal areas, the Ottoman rulers instituted in 1858 the Land Code for settling title to land in Iraq, and registering the title at the government offices. This law might be considered as the beginning of a new stage where a consistent basis for land-tenancy was laid down. The land law defined clearly the right of the use and transfer of the state lands. (Ali, H. 1955, pp.57-58) However, the law classified lands into five main categories:

(1) Mulk land held in absolute freehold ownership, (2) Miri land where the ownership belonged to the state but the usufruct went to the holder, (3) Waqf land, dedicated to some religious purpose, (4) Matruka land, reserved for some public purpose and (5) Mawât land, dead or unclaimed land.

The law however, was not applied except in a few localities due to inefficiency on the part of the administration, lack of means of enforcement, incompatibility of the law with the existing conditions and also due to the fact that the owners and the people who had the right of use did not register their holdings for fear of being taxed or drafted. Again a few influential people registered vast areas of land in their names and the Ottoman government continued its policy of favourable treatment in granting lands to those shaikhs on whom it depended in coercing the disobedient tribes. As a result, local

clashes between those shaikhs and the tribes actually occupying the land registered in the name of these shaikhs were more frequent now, and on a significant scale.

It seems that the real purpose of the code was to "tax every piece of land" which explained why the code did not cover relations between landlords and cultivators which are so important in any land tenure code. (Al-Azzawi, 1936, p.73).

However, the advantage of the code was theoretically threefold. First of all, the government became the direct recipient of land taxes, rendering the role of the intermediate tax farmers absolute, and hence, increasing government revenue. Secondly, it was hoped that nomadic tribes would now be encouraged to settle, and the increased sedentarisation would enable the government to exercise a firmer control over the rural population. Thirdly, increased cultivation would boost agricultural productivity.

Warriner (1966, pp.76-77) noticed that the code was not, however, as successful as it might have been, and for many reasons. It was formulated in Constantinople on the basis of conditions of land tenure, with no clear understanding of the local laws and customs governing land ownership in the country, nor of the traditional rights and privileges of the tribesmen. Thus, whereas it might have been extremely effective when applied in the Anatolian countryside, it met with resentment, evasion and open hostility in Iraq.

In addition the rural population, rightly suspecting some ulterior motive behind the code, were reluctant to register land, preferring

to continue in their traditional nomadic life without Turkish interference.

In 1863, the governor of Baghdad, Namiq Pasha attempted to break the tribal power. His attempt was successful in some parts, and some shaikhs lost their status as land owners. Thereafter, Madhat Pasha came to Baghdad as a reformer in 1869-71, and tried to encourage the tribes to settle permanently on the land and at the same time to raise additional revenues through the land taxation. He made great efforts to solve the confused problem of land tenure and to lay down a permanent basis for land settlement. But the lack of an efficient and honest administration, the unavailability of the necessary technical staff for surveying, and the fact that most people were not willing to register and get their proper share of the land for fear of having to pay taxes or being drafted, made such attempts unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the progress did much to undermine the position of the shaikhs. However, Madhat Pasha's land reform completely failed for the following main reasons: Firstly, there were no significant surveys and surveyors and not sufficient educated staff; Secondly, the ignorance and venality of Tapu officers meant that they were always inadequate to their functions; Thirdly, the response of the public was poor; Fourthly, land registration was not carried out within the true spirit of the code, it was in fact conducted in an arbitrary manner and without enquiry into numerous conflicting claims, finally, when the law was introduced, no attempt was made to understand the conditions of the various tribes and to define the limits of their tribal dirah. (Awad, A. 1959, p.25).

From 1883 to 1908 Sultan Abdul Hameed purchased vast agricultural

lands at a nominal price, and a special committee was set up for the development and management of these lands which amounted one-third of the total cultivable land of Iraq. In 1908 when his regime was abolished, these lands were transferred to the state (Ali, H. 1955, p.61).

One has to conclude that the Ottoman conquerors did not seriously attempt to solve land problems. In fact, the heavy taxes they collected created tense relations between them and the native people. Bonne (1955, p.125) pointed out that the laws introduced by the Ottoman government failed due to the misunderstanding, and often also due to the actual resistance of the oriental feudal class. However, Baali, while agreeing that this statement is correct, pointed out that Bonne had failed to add that most of the Ottoman rulers were hostile to the landowners. These included Madhat Pasha, who sold lands to the feudal class and helped to create a new power for the tribal shaikh. In fact, the successive Ottoman governments failed to provide a satisfactory system of land tenure and land administration.

However, after the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the British troops occupied the country in 1917. At the same time when the British mandatory power took over the local Ottoman government, the land tenure system was in a state of complete chaos (U.N. 1951, p.25). The British government decided that the best plan for controlling the situation would be to court the allegiance of the shaikhs, who would in their turn, implement the British policy in the countryside and quell any resistance at source (Pool, D. 1979, pp.75-65).

To achieve this end a large number of seats in the national Parliament,

which was first convened in 1924, was allocated to the shaikhs, whose political involvement would, it was hoped, promote loyalty to the government (Batatu, 1978, p.103).

However, the British government created a new civil law which was designed to settle the tribal disputes. This step was definitely undesirable, for it gave Iraq two constitutions, one for the tribes and the other for the rest of the people, which lasted until very recently. Then the authority of the shaikh in his tribal dirah was made more absolute by the abolition of many bureaucratic positions outside the tribal system. This encouraged the shaikhs who were given high posts in the administrations, and a special civil and criminal law was issued to try the tribal disputes in accordance with the prevailing tribal tradition. (Sluglett, P. 1976, p.240).

A new complication appeared during the mandate period (1920-1932) with the introduction of pump-irrigation. Many city merchants entered into agreements with landlords whereby they supplied the pumps and in return received a specific share of the crop. This created a new class of absentee pump-landlords and a new dispute grew up between them and the holders of the land (Qubain, F. 1958, pp.83-84.)

The shaikhs who had resisted the central government in the past in its efforts to register land in the names of the tribal peasants, now demanded settlement of the title as a means of ousting the peasants, whose prescriptive rights to cultivate and graze the land prevented them from securing the pump-irrigated land as their own property. The shaikhs and the city notables had been trying to establish legal title to individual ownership of tribal areas and

the British advisory officials failed to provide any safeguard against the power of the shaikhs and absentee landlords, who succeeded in establishing legal title to be held by the tribal peasants (Warriner, D. 1948, p.22). In fact, the failure of the British policy towards the land was due to many reasons, of which the following were the main ones (Haider, S. 1947, p.8):

- (1) Being new to the country and not possessing any reliable knowledge of the tribal areas, or indeed of the rest of the country, they adopted the Ottoman legal system.
- (2) Partly on strategic and political grounds and partly owing to the most complete breakdown of the existing Ottoman administrative machinery, they adopted the tribal system as a part of the administrative set up. This in practice meant the strengthening of the authority of the tribal shaikhs pending the establishment of some more satisfactory administration.
- (3) They did not hesitate to use the principle of state ownership of land as a weapon to control recalcitrant and unco-operative tribesmen.

Under the above circumstances, the British policy could not last long however, and the growing national movement impelled the British in 1932 to declare the independence of Iraq.

Land tenure under the National Government up to 1958

When the new state of Iraq came into existence in 1921, it inherited all the past chaos and confusion of the land tenure system. The ruling monarchy was quite conscious of the urgent need for an immediate solution, which was necessary for the stability and prosperity of the rural population. In an attempt to solve the land problem, the government in 1929 invited Sir Ernest Dowson, a British land settlement expert to study the land tenure problem and to make recommendations as to the most effective approach to be followed to solve it. In his report to the Iraqi government, he revealed the scale

and extent of the chaos, estimating that nowhere in the land are "any appreciable number of holdings, large or small, held in undisputed possession and free from hampering and conflicting claims to be found" (Dowson, 1932, p.32).

His first recommendation was that no attempt should be made to introduce a general settlement of title in freehold ownership, but that grants should be made, after a survey, in ten year leaseholds (Alwan, 1956, p.145). This was judged by many authorities a sound recommendation. For in a country like Iraq with great agricultural potential it was important that the land tenure system should be planned according to the future development of agriculture in the country. The second recommendation was that a new land register be compiled in which land titles could not be entered without proof of the legality of the claim. It was suggested that an office be created to carry out such systematic registrations. Dowson was aware of the fact that the main problem of land tenure throughout the country consisted of the dire need to establish security and clarity of tenure in all agricultural regions of Iraq by an accurate definition and settlement on a legal basis of both statutory and equitable rights to land.

Al-Bassam (1959, p.80) pointed out that none of the Dowson recommendations were carried out in a true spirit, and the two main recommendations, mentioned above, were not put into effect. As is often the case, the trouble is not with the recommendations but with the procedure for implementing them. Registration of title to land was implemented under the land rights settlement Law No. 50 of 1932 which empowered the government to settle land and to establish procedure for registration and which opened the way for the wholesale alienation of

wide tracts of land to the shaikhs, notable city people, and influential government officers. But the actual implementation of these laws led to the land tenure by the shaikhs rather than by the mass of the tribesmen. The law required all owners to register titles or deeds, and the tribesmen, partly ignorant of the laws and accustomed to collective ownership, remained unaware of large registration of tribal land in the name of particular shaikhs.

After the Iraqi government passed the land settlement law, a cadastral survey was begun, which modified the old land classification, but was still based on the Ottoman Land Code of 1858. Land tenure in Iraq, which was based on the Law No. 50 of 1932, was later modified by Law No. 29 of 1938 and its amendments. This recognised the following types of land tenure (Treakle, 1965, p.10 and Dziegiel, L. 1981, p.40):

- (1) Mulk: privately owned land with all rights of use, sale inheritance, lease, etc. These amounted to only 0.8% of the total surface.
- (2) Matruka*: the land reserved for public purpose: roads, threshing floors, unsettled public pastures.
- (3) Waqf: properties belonging to the mosques and charities, comprising only 1.37% of the total surface area.
- (4) Miri Sirf: land owned by the state, however, since according to Islam almost all land belongs to the state, this formerly meant the ruler. This group was further divided into three subgroups according to the system of land management in force:

* Matruka: stands for lands without property rights.

(a) Miri Tapu: land recorded in the land registry, "Tapu", and let out by the prince or ruler to the "farmers" for a rent of 10% of their harvest. The ruler's "farmers" were usually tribal chiefs and clan or religious leaders. The "miritapu" lands comprised lands which once used to be endowed by way of emolument by the rulers on their faithful servants, who had the use of the lands and the right of inheritance, though the ruler had the right of immediate withdrawal of his bounty should the beneficiary prove disloyal. In post-war Iraq the "Miritapu" lands were subject to confiscation by the government on the grounds of misuse. Apart from this clause the user had the right of handing down his "miri tapu" property to his inheritors and of selling it. This was the most common type of property up to the overthrow of the Iraq monarchy in 1958.

(b) Miri Lazma: lands owned by the state, but in practice used by individual tribes on the basis of lease to private persons for a limited period of time and with limited rights of exchange and inheritance. This group included property which was in the hands of the feudal landlords. The "miri" properties constituted 97.83% of the land in Iraq at the time, i.e. after the Second World War, and the majority of them were controlled by the tribal aristocrats.

(c) Miri Sirf: land administered directly by the state, through the treasury, and comprising mainly lands unfit for cultivation and used for public purposes. If any of the lands in this subgroup were suitable for cultivation or animal-rearing, they were let out to tenants for short terms only.

The Law of 1932 was supposed to be an answer that would resolve

the confusion over the structure of tenure. In fact, it had become politically favourable for the government to have tribal lands transferred to the shaikhs. By this law it became legal for the government to rent the Miri Sirf land for a period of not more than six years. In the same time this law allowed a few influential people to control these lands. Large tracts of cultivable land were owned by individuals, merchants, or other entrepreneurs, who owned irrigation pumps. These owners did not live on the land, usually they took up residence in the large cities. Thus, the Law of 1932 contributed towards the settlement of the tribal disputes over land and formalised a classification of land. (Treakle, 1970, pp.11-68).

Table 3.1. translates these four kinds of land tenure in Iraq into donums for the period before 1958 and reveals the great magnitude of state "legal" ownership of land. As can be seen from the above table, less than one per cent was privately owned, out of the total area of more than 32 million donums of land in holding, while about 83.3 per cent of the total was state land property either Tapu, Lazma or unsettled land. This constituted the whole of Iraqi agricultural holdings, such holdings legally belonged to the state, but for all practical purposes were privately owned, controlled and cultivated by a few holders.

Tenure classes in Iraq comprised two small categories of farm operators (owners and managers) and a large one of peasants. The landowners included: (1) the shaikhs, or the owners of large estates whose number was very small, especially before 1958, and (2) the small landowners.

TABLE 3.1. Classification of land tenure, by the Cadastral Survey, 1958

Form of Tenure	Area in (donums) (1)	% (2) as % of total (1)
Miri tapu	12,481,588	38.83
Miri LaZma	10,587,876	32.92
Miri Sirf	4,684,537	14.57
Unsettled land	3,704,906	11.52
Total miri lands	31,457,740	97.83
Waqf land (in trust)	439,074	1.37
Mulk (privately owned)	207,998	0.80
TOTAL	32,154,812	100.00

SOURCE: Hashem, J., Umar, H. and Al-Manufi, n.d., 1971.

The farm operators consist of the Sirkal, whose number is unknown, however, due to the nature of the work obviously constitute a small group. The peasants are of two principal types: (1) sharecroppers, (2) farm workers.

According to the agricultural and livestock census, 1958-1959 the number of sharecroppers was 314,082, the majority of whom (53%) were located in the southern regions, (30%) were in the central regions of Iraq and (17%) were in the northern region. The number of the farm wage workers in the same period was 210,201 with 30% in the South, 17% in the centre, and 33% in the North.

The sharecropping system: According to the Law No. 28 of 1933, this system gave the landlords the right and duties to determine which land is suitable for cultivation, in order to give the peasants the seeds needed and the right to use irrigation facilities and also to discuss with them the methods of farming to be used. At the same time it stated that rights and duties of the peasants were to sow and harvest and to care for the crop. This law gave the landlords great control in arranging contracts with the peasants i.e. suggestions, recommendations, etc. Law No. 73 of 1936 established the government's share which actually constituted a tax, as 10% of the produce in the irrigation region and 5% in the rainfed region.

Customarily, either the landlords or the Sirkal collected the government share of the produce. The Sirkal took his share from the landlord as well as from the peasant. After the government and the Sirkal had taken out their shares, the peasant and the landlord were to divide the remainder equally. However, the landlord received 3/5

or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the produce, depending upon the extent to which irrigation water pumps were supplied to the peasants (Baali, F. 1966, (a) pp.176-177).

Then the pre-1958 land tenure system can be summarised as follows: (Ismael, 1975, pp.209-210).

1. The landlord provides land and irrigation water in the irrigated areas and only land in the rainfed areas, to the farmers who cultivate the land in the crop which the landlord specifies.

2. Land is divided among the peasants according to the number of capable workers in the farming families.

3. The peasants are responsible for the provision of seeds and fertilisers, etc.

4. Off-farm work, such as cleaning the principal irrigation canal and excavating roads within the land holdings of the landlords is carried out collectively by the peasants.

5. Depending upon the needs of the new farmers, the landlords may provide meagre loans either in cash, in kind or both, to maintain the survival of their farmers and their families. The amount of those loans is usually determined by the landlord himself in the light of the potential produce.

6. The produce is divided between the landlord and the farmers according to the custom followed in each region, e.g. in the Northern region, the share of the landlord was one-half of the produce. In the centre region the share of the landlords was five-ninths, and in the Southern region where the land irrigated by flow particularly in the rice areas, the share was two-thirds.

7. In some areas where the tribal system was strongly entrenched, a given share of produce was set aside to support the guest house of the shaikh.

From the characteristics mentioned of the tenure system, these were followed by custom and there were no government regulations for the agricultural relationships until 1954.

Size of Landholdings

By end of 1958 there were 168,346 landholders with varying degrees of legal rights over 32 million donums of arable land, of which over 23 million were actually exploited.

The most salient feature of ownership in rural Iraq, was the concentration of large agricultural holdings in the hands of a few tribal shaikhs and wealthy urban merchants. This is clearly demonstrated on Table 3.2. In 1958-59 there were 3,418 agricultural holdings of 1000 donums, over five of which exceeded 100,000 donums in size. As a result, 86 per cent of the total holding contained less than 11 per cent of the total area of cultivated land, while about 2 per cent of the landholders controlled about 68 per cent of all the land* (Agricultural Census 1958-1959, p.8). This uneven distribution meant that 89 per cent of the rural population owned no land, and the labour of the landless rural people was given to the landlord in

* The figure, however, varied according to province. The largest holdings were in Kut (now Thi-Qar) and Amara (now Maysan), with an average of 964.8 and 319.2 donums respectively, and the smallest holdings were in Basrah and Kerbala, with an average of 14.9 and 46.1 donums respectively.

TABLE 3.2. Number of Area of Agricultural Holdings in Iraq,
Classified by size, 1958-1959

Size of holdings (in donums) (a) (1)	Number of holdings (2)	% (3) = % of (2) of total	Area (donum) (4)	% (5) = % of (4) of total	Average size of holding (6)=2% (4)
Less than 1.0	22,801	13.5	8.524	*	0.4
1.0 - 3.9	35,157	20.9	64.531	0.3	1.8
4.0 - 19.9	45,539	27.1	429.910	1.8	9.4
20.0 - 39.9	18,891	11.2	527.474	2.3	27.9
40.0 - 59.9	10,802	6.4	521.806	2.2	48.3
60.0 - 99.9	11,612	6.9	894.707	3.8	77.1
100.0 - 199.9	11,464	6.8	1.575.881	6.8	137.5
200.0 - 399.9	5,459	3.2	1.479.198	6.3	271.0
400.0 - 599.9	1,693	1.0	812.922	3.5	480.2
600.0 - 999.9	1,510	0.9	1.156.735	5.0	766.0
1000.0 - 1,999.9	1,395	0.8	2.012.643	8.6	1.442.8
2000.0 - 3,999.9	1,066	0.6	2.999.040	12.9	2.813.4
4000.0 - 9,999.9	682	0.4	4.078.598	17.5	5.980.3
10.000.0 - 19,999.9	181	0.1	2.457.408	10.5	1.35768
20.000.0 - 49,999.9	70	*	2.096.872	9.0	2.99553
50.000.0 - 99,999.9	19	*	1.334.102	5.7	702159
100.000.0 - and over	5	*	876.913	3.8	1.753.826
All Holdings	168.346	100.0	23.327.259	100.0	138.6

SOURCE: Compiled and computed from data in Agricultural and livestock census in Iraq for the year 1958-1959. Baghdad: Government, Press, 1961.

(*) Less than 0.1 per cent.

exchange for a share of the produce. The landlord regularly received three-fifths to two-thirds of the produce, depending on the measure to which irrigation facilities were supplied to the farmer. In addition, the report in 1952 of a mission organised by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the request of the government of Iraq showed that:

"when the land is pump-irrigated, the peasants' share is generally only two-sevenths or three-sevenths of the crop".

These circumstances forced the peasant to borrow additional funds from the landlords.

From the foregoing discussion about land tenure in Iraq before 1958, one has to indicate that the role of the government was not strong enough to enforce reform of land tenure because of the townsmen's and tribal shaikh's domination. On the other hand, the government is still the final and legal owner of most of the land in Iraq. Officially, the situation was improved by the new regime after the July 1958 Revolution, as we shall see in the following sections.

3.3. THE LAND REFORM PROGRAMMES IN IRAQ:

THEIR OBJECTIVES, PROVISIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION

The 1958 Revolution promised according to its perpetrators, to remove all social injustices and create an economically independent state. Their policy targets were as follows:

(1) the development of the agricultural sector, (2) the expansion of the manufacturing industries and (3) the production of social welfare of the poorer sector of the population. (Hassam, 1975, p.62).

The first legislation which was passed in July 1958, was the land reform Law No. 30. This law was drafted by Iraqi and Egyptian land reform experts.

The Ministry of Agriculture, stated that the agrarian reform law aimed at "destroying feudalism" and raising the standards of agricultural production as well as the standard of living of the peasants. In fact, this statement lacked a clear conception of the objectives of the law. Therefore, Kubbah (1959) who was the Minister of agrarian reform, enumerated the objectives of the law in the following terms:

- (1) The abolition of the feudal landholding system and the destruction of the stratified society that existed previously.
- (2) Protection of small and medium peasants.
- (3) The redistribution of land into smaller production units owned by tenants who were the actual producers.
- (4) The integration of the small tenancies into co-operative societies and collective farms to strengthen the position of the farmers and give them a new sense of independence.
- (5) The increase of the standard of living of the majority of the people, namely: the peasants, and the opportunity to give them the necessary opportunity to raise their social standards in general.

- (6) Production of raw materials for industry.
- (7) Production of food for the working class.

The statement mentioned above indicates the diversity of the objectives of the agrarian reform law, since they included economic as well as social and political objectives. The economic objective aimed at raising the standard of living through the improvement of production. The social objective aimed at eradicating the social evils of land concentration through the abolition of feudalism.

The political objective is implicit in the abolition of feudalism as the very basis of the rule of Iraq's rulers before 1958.

As we will see later, the limited way in which these objectives were implemented does not allow for a comprehensive empirical assessment of the advantages or otherwise of these policies. However, the land reform followed the Egyptian approach of eliminating the large private land through nationalisation or limitation of large farm estates. Land was then redistributed to landless peasants organised into producers' co-operatives.

The Higher Committee of Agrarian Reform classified the objectives of the law into (1) objectives directly connected with the welfare of the village population, and (2) long-term objectives (Al-Bayati, 1969, p.273).

The objectives in the first category are:

- a) The elimination of feudalism by expropriating the landholdings in excess of the maximum limits prescribed by the law.
- b) Redistribution of the expropriated land to the landless peasants.

- c) Supervision and assistance of the peasant through agricultural co-operatives.
- d) Establishment of a more equitable distribution of income between landlords and tenants by fixing a maximum limit for land rent.
- e) Establishment of tenure security by determining a minimum term for land leases, and
- f) Production of the rights of agricultural labours by fixing their wages and allowed them to form unions.

Under long-term objectives are included:

- a) Direction of new investments into other sectors of the economy by limiting landownership.
- b) Encouragement of land reclamation and conservation by allowing interested companies and association to possess lands in excess of the fixed maximum limits.
- c) Creation of family farms operated by independent peasants, who shall no longer be dependent on the landlords for their livelihood.

Provision of the Law

The Land Reform Law decreed:

- (1) The expropriation of privately owned land holdings, in excess of 1,000 donums (250 hectares) of irrigated land, and 2,000 donums of rainfed land.
- (2) The distribution of expropriated lands undertaken to the land reform law, as well as lands held by the government under the miri-sirf title, were to be distributed to the landless peasants in small holdings. The size of these new holdings was defined to be the range of 30 to 60 donums (7.5 to 15 hectares) in irrigated land, and from 60 to 120 donums in rainfed lands.
- (3) Land held in excess of the upper limits mentioned above should be expropriated by the government.
- (4) The compensation based on assessed land values which is estimated on the basis of current market value to expropriated landowners, and payment by the new owners of the full purchase price of a holding over a period of forty years.
- (5) Establishment of agricultural co-operative societies with compulsory membership for recipients of land, and with wide functions including the marketing of produce, supply of farm equipment (i.e. seeds, fertilizers, agricultural machinery, cattle, storage and means of transportation) and organisation of agricultural production.
- (6) The sharecropping pattern. The 1958 Law introduced a new pattern for division of produce between peasants and landlords on the old holdings, and between the farmer and the land reform authorities on the redistributed lands. (Hassam, 1975, p.66).

Action was taken immediately after the announcement of the Land Reform Law. This new pattern of the distribution of produce between the landowners and the sharecroppers was as follows:-

In the irrigated land, the landowners were to provide the land with irrigation water to the border of the farm, and provide management with seeds and fertilizers. The sharecropper was to undertake to carry out his duty (e.g. ploughing, harvesting, collecting, and transporting) and provide all other labour needed in agricultural production in accordance with the prevailing technique.

In the rainfed land areas, the sharecropper farmer was to be responsible for providing management, seeds and fertilizers. However, the crop shares for each productive activity were prescribed as shown in table 3.3. In addition to these government principles land in private ownership, the Iraqi law also includes provisions covering the distribution of state domain and of land held in unsettled title. Both these categories of the land are of great importance in Iraq. Their meaning requires a brief explanation, since it is easily misunderstood, and its usage is not consistent.

"Privately owned land", subject to expropriation in excess of the maximum areas under the first clause of the law, refers to land held in two forms of registered title, Tapu and Lazma (*), formerly distinct but now identical in conferring freehold ownership. According to the agricultural census of 1958-59 (1961, p.12), the total area of land in holdings was 32 million donums, of which 23 million were privately owned in these two forms of tenure.

* For differences between Tapu and Lazma, see section one, p. 84

TABLE 3.3. Percentage distribution of crop shares according to the
Agrarian Reform, 1959

Category	Land irrigated by flow	Land irrigated by artifical means	Land irriga by rain
	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Land	10	10	10
Water	10	20	-
Labourers' work and seeds	50	40	50
Ploughing (protecting)	5	5	10
Harvesting (reaping or collecting)	10	10	15
Management	15	15	15
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Baali, F., 1969, p.71.

State domain, Miri Sirf, as mentioned earlier, refers to the land registered as the property of the state, and includes grazing, other cultivated land or land cultivated by private owners without registered title. The state's right of ownership is nominal, it does not farm such land, exert any control over its use or draw revenues from it. The 1958 law empowered the government to take over and distribute uncultivated state land without compensation to users. The position of the state domain under cultivation by landowners with holdings exceeding the maximum was regulated by the state domain land law of 1961, which entitled occupiers to compensate their rights of customary possession, at rates lower than those to be fixed for land held in registered title.

Implementations of the Land Reform Act of 1958

(Hairi, 1959, p.57 and Gabbay 1978, p.113) concluded that the land reform programme was implemented in three distinct stages:-

(1) Expropriation of the excess acreage of the big landowners, (2) Temporary administration and management of expropriated land by the Ministry of Agrarian Reform, in cases in which the lands were leased to beneficiaries, until the necessary contract requisite for the productive use and management of the land was completed and (3) the redistribution of expropriated land among the peasants (fellaheen), and the organisation of agricultural co-operatives and provision of supporting institutional services for the co-operative members.

The method for expropriation and redistribution of lands was established under the law. The government was empowered to take over.

The process of expropriation turned out to be complicated. The Ministry of Agrarian Reform prepared a list of landlords who fell within the definition of the law. The list then had to be verified for accuracy at the Title Registration office, the Ministry of Finance and the Department of General Taxation. When this had been completed, the secretariat would submit the list for approval to the higher committee, chaired by the President himself. If approved, the decision was published in the official Gazette, enabling the landlord to petition the court of appeal for Agrarian Reform. Litigation in the court could take up to twelve months, and its decision had to be approved by the Higher Committee (Gabbay, 1978, p.114).

The government found the task of land expropriation and redistribution most difficult. A total area of 14,930,773 donums held by the 2,847 landlords subject to expropriation, or 46.87% of the total land in all agricultural holdings lie (32 million donums) by the end of 1958.

The total expropriatable area was 10,628,273 donums, and the total area retainable by the landlords was 4,302,500 donums. Then if we add the middle-ownership (ranging between 100 and 1000 donums) who constituted 11.9% of the total landlords and owned more than 5 million donums, the total area of lands that remained in the possession of big and middle landlords amounted to more than 9 million donums. Still if we add 3 million donums of Miri land, which were distributed among farmers, then the total area referred to the Ministry of Agrarian Reform by the end of 1968 amounts to twelve million donums as can be seen from table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4. Expropriatable Agricultural Land in Iraq

Land in Agricultural Holdings	All Iraq donum	Percentage of the total
Miri-Tapu, Miri-Lezma and Mulk land	23,327,259	100.0
Land in excess of maximum limits	14,930,773	62.2
Land retainable by landlords	4,302,500	17.4
Land subject to expropriation (b)	10,628,273	45.6
Middle ownership land	5,318,288	21.7
Miri land	3,068,128	13.0

SOURCE: Compiled from: Hashem, 1972 p.33, Iraq Ministry of Information, 1977, p.47. Al-Bayati, 1969, p.338.

(b) Only Miri-Tapu, Miri-Lezma and Mulk land in excess of the maximum limits are subject to expropriation.
Waqf land is exempt from expropriation.

In spite of the complexity of the process, the rate of expropriation seems to have been relatively speedy. Hasan (1966, p.44) pointed out that the number of landlords affected, was estimated at 1043 and their properties at 7.6 million donums. By the end of 1963 more than 4.5 million donums were expropriatable areas.

The Ministry of Agrarian Reform (1969) reported that the figure increased to more than 7 million donums by the middle of 1968, 47.37 per cent of the total area available for expropriation affecting 2,177 landlords of which 751 landlords were in the Northern region, 1092 in the central region and 334 in the southern region, as seen in table 3.5.

The process of distribution of the land among the peasants, was roughly the same in terms of expropriation with one major difference: distribution took much longer than expropriation.

In terms of distribution, the expropriated land was to be distributed to beneficiaries in holdings of between 30 to 60 donums in irrigated areas and 60 to 120 donums in non-irrigated areas, subject to the following conditions:

- (1) The beneficiaries must be Iraqi and have reached 18 years of age.
- (2) The total possession must be less than 60 donums irrigated areas or 120 donums non-irrigated areas.
- (3) They must be engaged in agricultural activities.

Distribution is based on this order of priority:

Cultivators of the land first, then peasants with the largest families, the less wealthy among the villagers, and finally, the non-residents of the village.

TABLE 3.5. Achievement in land expropriation in Iraq from September 1958 to December 1968

Region	Landowner submitted property statements		Landowners actually affected		Land actually expropriated	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Donum	Per cent
Northern region	946	33.23	751	34.50	3,059,085	43.25
Central region	1384	48.61	1092	50.16	3,180,136	44.96
Southern region	517	18.16	334	15.34	834,125	11.79
Total	2847	100.0	2177	100.0	7,073,346	100.0

SOURCE: Government of Iraq, Ministry of agrarian reform, the periodical report on the agrarian reform achievement from the end of September 1958, to the end of December 1968, p.22, 1969.

The distributed land is to be paid by beneficiaries. The purchase price of the land is established on the same basis as that for the assessment of compensation to be paid to the expropriated landlords.

The expropriated lands were redistributed from the end of 1958 to the end of December 1968. According to the Ministry of Planning (1971), the total area of 2,775,204 donums was redistributed to 55,813 landless peasants or 39.23 per cent of the total land eligible for redistribution had actually been redistributed. 60.77% was still being acquired by the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. A total of 979,892 donums was actually distributed from the Miri lands as shown in table 3.6. However, the total area actually distributed accounts for only 18.6 per cent of the total area available for distribution i.e. 14,930,773 donums. Then the average area distributed each year was 277,520 donums.

As a result of the slow rate of distribution of expropriated land to the landless peasants, and the increasing number of state lands reclaimed, the Ministry of Agrarian Reform had under its temporary control vast agricultural areas.

According to the Iraqi Ministry of Planning (1968, p.152) by the same year the area under "temporary administration" of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform totalled 7,088,939 donums, leased to an estimated 205,945 landless peasants. This area was classified into three types: firstly, the expropriated lands accounted for 2,998,168 donums leased out to 86,087 landless peasants; secondly, state land totalled 4,033,854 donums leased to 118,654 peasants; thirdly, this type included state lands whose users had not cultivated the lands for

TABLE 3.6. Distributed land and number of beneficiaries during 1959-1968

Year	Distributed area (donums)		Total	Number of beneficiaries
	State lands	Sequestered land		
1959	36,900	-	36,900	615
1960	59,504	223,925	283,429	7,393
1961	198,305	293,726	492,031	9,460
1962	67,876	569,647	637,523	11,170
1963	203,618	177,161	380,779	6,779
1964	149,532	267,452	416,984	9,599
1965	27,830	52,852	80,682	1,984
1966	26,771	55,422	82,193	2,340
1967	60,156	81,281	141,437	3,290
1968	149,402	73,846	223,248	3,183
Total	979,892	1,795,312	2,775,204	55,813

SOURCE: Iraq Ministry of Planning, C.O.S., A.A. of statistics, Baghdad, 1971, Table (62), p.122.

a period, with an estimated area of 56,917 donums leased to 1,204 farmers.

منذ ١٩٦٦

From the previous discussion, it is clear that the process of distribution was slower than the process of expropriation.

The Ministry of Agrarian Reform (1966, p.9) reported that there had been many reasons for this delay: first of all, the failure of the Agrarian Reform agencies in some of the northern parts of the country to carry out land distribution in a proper manner due to the administrative disturbances resulting from the conflict between the government forces and the Kurdish tribes; secondly, the lack of adequate transportation facilities; thirdly, the lack of information about the cultivable and non-cultivable areas of many villages because of the inadequacy of the existing land surveying, soil classification, and mapping facilities; fourthly, the chairmanships of the distribution committees have often been given to purely administrative officials who knew nothing about the technical procedure and problems of the land distribution; and fifthly, the failure of the land reform authorities to adopt a sound policy of financing land distribution and their reluctance to spend even the funds especially allocated each year for financing distribution.

السياسة

The 1958 law dealt with the establishment of agricultural co-operative societies, and required farmers to join these co-operatives. The co-operatives were established in every district where peasants benefited from the land distribution. Other farmers might also join these co-operatives if their land did not exceed the maximum limit set by the land reform law. The policies were:

- (1) To obtain agricultural credits for their members
- (2) To provide the farmers with seed fertilizers, cattle, agricultural machinery, storage and transportation
- (3) To organise the cultivation and exploitation of land in the most efficient manner, including selection of seed and the selection of orchard sites, combating pests and digging canals and drains
- (4) To sell their principal crops on behalf of their members and to keep their account.

The government was concerned about developing these co-operatives in the rural areas, and the law made it compulsory for any farmer who got land from the government to be a member of a co-operative society. However, the year after the enactment of the programme in 1968, the total number of agricultural co-operative societies was 499. They had 65,789 members working an area of 4,487,729 donums (Al-Safar, 1976 p.171). The area under these co-operatives represented 45% of the total cultivable land under the administration and management of the Ministry. The proportion of the beneficiaries who were members of the co-operatives was 25.1% of the total number of land reform beneficiaries. In addition, the co-operatives did not expand to the areas outside the land reform areas. In spite of all the policies mentioned above, the co-operatives faced many problems during the period 1958-1968 which delayed their progress. Some of these problems were as follows:-

- (1) Strong resistance from feudal landlords to the use of new methods.
- (2) There was no plan to extend co-operatives and not enough employees to do so.

- (3) There was no desire among people living in the town to migrate to the villages which was a critical situation and from which fundamental problem the country as a whole suffered.
- (4) The weakness of general information about co-operatives among peasants and those working in the co-operative societies.
- (5) The co-operatives lacked an education infrastructure which limited the ability of the peasants to perform effectively the government objectives. Then during the period mentioned above co-operatives still suffered from the weakness of member participation, inadequacy of finance and scarcity of trained managerial personnel for carrying out the land reform measures.

As a concluding remark, one may say that the number of these co-operatives was insufficient to handle the country's needs and their performance was inadequate.

The situation changed after 1968 when the development of the agricultural sector began and the new government took many steps towards the development of co-operatives, as I shall discuss later on.



However, the implementation of the Land Reform Law of 1958 did affect the level of agricultural production. If the pre- and post-reform levels of Iraq's main crop production are compared by taking the annual average for 1954-1958 and 1959-1963, cereal production fell by 17%, rice production by 17% and the production of cotton over 27%. If we look at comparisons over the period 1959-63 and 1964-68, cereal production increased by 15%, rice production by 22% and the production of cotton by 18% as can be seen from table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7. Production of the main crops in Iraq, 1954-58/1964-68

Crops	Year	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Average 1954-58	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	Average 1959-63	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average 1964-68
Wheat		1160	453	776	1118	757	852	564	592	857	1085	488	717	807	1006	826	1029	1537	1041
Barley		1239	757	1016	1305	954	1054	725	804	911	1125	790	871	623	806	832	736	992	797
Total cereals		2399	1210	1792	2423	1711	1906	1306	1768	2210	1278	1430	1588	1430	1912	1658	1765	2529	1828
Rice		180	83	111	154	137	133	88	118	68	113	168	111	184	198	182	315	354	247
Cotton		21	23	25	44	37	30	26	23	26	25	14	22	29	27	19	26	29	26

SOURCE: Derived from Table (A) Appendix.

Criticism of land reform

There is no doubt that the land reform law seeks to liberate the peasants from the oppression of large landowners and to improve their economic conditions. However, as shown earlier the implementation of this law is not without difficulties and shortcomings that affected its performance.

Some of the main shortcomings were summarised by Gabbay, (1978, pp.109-118), Hassan, 1975, pp.123-124) as follows:-

- (1) The high ceiling on ownership. This ceiling was 2000 donums in the rainfed zone and 1000 donums in the irrigated zone. No more than 6.0% of the land held by landlords was distributed to the landless peasants. This distribution pattern had a profound impact on income earning opportunities in the agricultural sector.
- (2) The implementation process of the law was carried out irrespective of the differences in the land use classification, i.e. the cropping pattern, soil fertility and excess to precipitation and irrigation.
- (3) Landlords whose lands were requisitioned, were given the right to choose the land allocated to them. As a rule, they chose the most productive and fertile land that had access to irrigation and were left in control of the irrigation system in the land reform areas.
- (4) Landlords were compensated for the requisitioned lands, even though most of the land were public domain land registered in the name of the heads of tribes. Lands held in absolute private ownership represented 4% of the total lands subject to expropriations.
- (5) The laws' provisions concerning the expropriation of land holdings in the excess of the maximum limit were not implemented in the two provinces of Maysan and Thi-Dar. This was due to the government policy of encouraging the tribes to settle. The government registered the land in the name of the heads of tribes in the area to encourage them to cultivate the land, while the tribes were still moving from one place to another looking for grazing and water.

However, this law was nothing but a bargain between the interests of the landlords and the peasant's aspiration for a land reform.

First of all, the use of the term "high ceiling on ownership", is simply a way of according its necessary legitimacy. If we consider the fact that many landlords used to subdivide their properties into smaller parts registered under the name of their sons and wives before the issue of the law, we would see that the definition of 1000 donums of irrigated land or 2000 donums of rainfed land as the ceiling in many instances did little to end feudalism domination in the countryside. Secondly, the law neglected the very important and serious question of the varieties of land and types of cultivated produce, as well as the difference in the quantity of water received by these lands. To compare one donum of land irrigated by flow with two donums irrigated by rain, is not a fair comparison. Thirdly, the law gave to the landlord whose property exceeded the maximum, the right to choose for himself the land he was authorised to keep. In other words, the law gave him the right to keep the best land with the highest yield, abundant water, close to the communication networks and cities and leaving the poorer land to the farmers. Fourthly, the law failed to compensate feudal landowners for the land nationalised. The total compensation, excluding the investment and installation amounted to about I.D. 100 million paid to the landlords. If we add the interest, due for twenty years, the total amount to be paid reached I.D. 131.5 million. But the Qasim government had to lower this compensation to 40 million according to the Law No. 65 of 1963 (Ministry of Information, 1977, p.48).

As a result of that, the peasants who received land by contract or by distribution left the land and migrated to the cities in search of employment. At the same time as the law gave all these facilities to the landlords, it adopted the principle of land distribution in accordance with the payment of land price, and obliged the peasants

to pay annually interest of 3% and a further 20% of this 3% as administration and distribution expenses, the remaining amount to be paid annually over a period of twenty years (Rashid, N. 1974, p.137). This meant that the farmers gained little or nothing. After paying their plot's land tax and a fee for the administrative cost of redistribution, they could not afford to purchase seeds or fertilizers. Therefore, the land they received was often poor and they were unable to pay for the extensive improvement necessary to make it productive. Many fell into debt with the agricultural bank. Thus, the farmer paid more than he used to pay to the landlords before the law (Ministry of Information, 1977, p.48).

Besides these shortcomings, the implementation of the law faced many obstacles and difficulties, the main one being the lack of effective procedures in the expropriation and redistribution programme which is obvious from table 3.5., 3.6. Contributing factors were: (a) the lack of a complete cadastral survey and (b) the lack of guidance and direction in technical supervision, information about the cultivable and non-cultivable land. This is due to the inadequate surveying, soil classification and mapping facilities (Rashid, 1972, p.105). Furthermore, Simmons (1965, p.132) pointed out that there was a lack of trained staff, both administrative and technical. Besides there was a shortage of legal advisors, engineers and teachers. Then the most important among these were the insufficient skilled administrators to manage either the land held temporarily by the higher committee of the land reform or the co-operatives newly established in the area of redistribution.

The 1970 Land Reform Law

After July 1968 the new government found that the agricultural sector was in a state of chaos. Much classified land had fallen into disuse, and much land scheduled for expropriation had not been transferred to the state. The period between 1958 and 1968 had seen a sharp drop in production as we have shown earlier, which had been compensated by a rise in the imports of foodstuffs. Therefore, in spite of the achievement of the Land Reform Law of 1958, there were legal and technical shortcomings that affected its performances as mentioned earlier in the last section. However, it quickly became apparent that the 1958 Land Reform Law had to be replaced.

In 1969, with primary aim of stimulating agricultural production, the new government set out to remedy what it saw as the major deficiencies of 1958 law. In an attempt to relieve previous beneficiaries of debt, compensation was abolished and repayment suspended.

In May 1970, a new Land Reform Law was promulgated incorporating many of the previous laws in a form which had been able to benefit from twelve years of experience of land reform. Whereas the 1959 reform classified land only in terms of whether it was irrigated or rainfed, its successor attempted a much more sophisticated system of land classification.

Rainfed land was subdivided into four categories and irrigated land into eleven. These categories were defined in the light of many factors which determined the level of income obtainable from these

lands. The kinds of crops, the means of irrigation, the amount of precipitation, the proximity to major cities and marketing centres and the like were taken into consideration.

Then the second aim of the new law was also to build socialism in the countryside, through the political recruitment of the peasantry, and the abolition of the last vestiges of feudalism (Ismael, 1975, pp.77-95). However, the expected new prosperity of agriculture was to bring about an increased standard of living for the work force. Administration was to be the sole responsibility of the co-operative societies.

Provisions of the Law

In its main provisions, the Land Reform Law No. 116 of 1970 decreed:

- (1) The higher committee of land reform, and all its subsidiary committees, were to be abolished, thus dismantling the administrative machinery of the 1958 land reform programme (Article (9)).
- (2) According to article one, "the higher agricultural council shall be formed under the chairmanship of the president of the republic and the membership of the Minister of Agrarian Reform, agriculture, irrigation, the chairman of the general union of peasant societies and full time members not less than five in number, who are highly qualified in the following fields: economics, irrigation and drainage, agrarian reform and two of them in agriculture". (Article one, p.9).

This was the first serious attempt towards an efficient administrative structure in order to avoid conflict and overlapping between various Ministers and a department related to the agricultural sector for the planning and implementing of agricultural development strategies.

- (3) Article 2, part one, (pp.18-19) comprised that the area of

agricultural land owned by a person or alienated to him by "Tapu" or granted by "Lezma" shall not exceed the following limits:-

a. In the rainfed land:

- (1) 2000 donums, in the less fertile land area located south of the rainfall line.
- (2) 1600 donums, in the very fertile land area located south of the rainfall line.
- (3) 1300 donums, in the less fertile land area located north of the rainfall line.
- (4) 1000 donums, in the very fertile land area located north of the rainfall line.

b. In the irrigated land:

- (1) 600 donums, in the less fertile land area irrigated by lift (pumps).
- (2) 400 donums, in the less fertile land area irrigated by flow.
- (3) 400 donums, in the very fertile land area irrigated by lift.
- (4) 300 donums, in the very fertile land area irrigated by flow.
- (5) 120 donums, in the land irrigated by lift and cultivated with cotton or vegetables in the North provinces.
- (6) 80 donums, in the land irrigated by flow and cultivated with cotton or vegetables in the North provinces.
- (7) 80 donums, in the land irrigated by lift and cultivated with rice in the North provinces.
- (8) 60 donums, in the land irrigated by flow and cultivated with rice in the North provinces.
- (9) 50 donums, in the land irrigated by lift and cultivated with tobacco in the North provinces.
- (10) 40 donums, in the land irrigated by flow and cultivated by tobacco in the North provinces.
- (11) 100 donums, in the land irrigated by flow and cultivated with rice in provinces other than the North provinces.

In the case of holding two types of land, the proportions must be affected according to the above mentioned ratio. The higher agricultural council may decrease the high limits of ownership to half the limit fixed in this article for the land situated near the marketing centres.

- (4) All lands held in excess of the ceiling were to revert to the state (Miri-Sirf), immediately upon the enactment of the law. All ex-landowners were to be responsible for the cultivation of this land until requisition was completed. (Article, 6).

- (5) The right of the landowners to decide which portions of their estate should be confiscated, was to be abolished. The purpose of this was to ensure that good fertile land was expropriated and placed under co-operative control.
- (6) Landowners were not to be compensated for expropriated lands. This was viewed as a measure to undermine their economic security.
- (7) In order to effect a fairer distribution of the irrigated network, the new Agrarian Law did not give the landlords the right to choose the land allocated to them.
- (8) The new agrarian reform law abrogated the compensation principle to the landlords, and at the same time the redistribution of lands was carried out without the repayment principle.
- (9) Classification of land made available for redistribution was to take into account such factors as proximity to market centres, the fertility of the soil the value of the crop for which the soil was suitable and irrigation and drainage facilities available.
- (10) Confiscated land could either be allocated to individual peasants, or organised on a collective basis, as local circumstances permitted (Article, 16).
- (11) Redistributed holdings, article 16, part one, were not to exceed 60 donums of irrigated land, or 200 donums of rainfed land. Redistributed land was to be held in Miri ownership, and was not, therefore, transferable by sale or endowment, neither could it be mortgaged. This is step towards ensuring government control of agricultural production, because should continuous cultivation cease, the state was automatically empowered to transfer utilization rights.
- (12) The beneficiaries of the redistribution were not to be charged for the land. All outstanding debts to the agricultural bank were to be cancelled from 1958.
- (13) All peasants were to be required to join a co-operative society, irrespective of whether they worked for a landlord, or were beneficiaries of the redistribution.

In consequence, the 1970 land reform law was more successful than its predecessor. Expropriation went ahead and redistribution was accelerated, for example, see table 3.8 below. However, Ismael (1975, p.88) pointed out that the enthusiasm concerning the future of agriculture was reflected in the 1975-1980 development plans which gave high priority to agriculture by allocating \$10 billion for agricultural

development, and expressing the intention to produce and export a surplus, by bringing 25% more land into cultivation, by 1980, and reducing the dependence of agriculture on weather conditions.

Implementation of the Land Reform Law of 1970

By the end of 1976, the total area expropriated under this programme was about 3.3. million donums (Iraq, Ministry of Planning, 1976, p.111). This means that the total area expropriated under the new programme accounted for about 47% of the total expropriated area in the previous twelve year period.

However, 4.8 million donums were redistributed to 187,162 landless peasants.

From the above we can observe that the process of redistribution worked faster under the second law than under the first law as can be seen from table 3.8. and figure 3.1. This table shows that the number of beneficiaries has increased to about 53,755 thousand in 1976. This is due to Law No. 53 of 1976 which was concerned with the uniform classification of Miri land, the so-called state lands.* However, there was a big drop in the number of beneficiaries in 1978 because of the land shortage.

The undistributed land whether expropriated or originally held by the government under the title Miri Sirf has been accumulating over time and has been placed under the temporary administration of the land reform authorities. Such land is cultivated on a leasehold basis

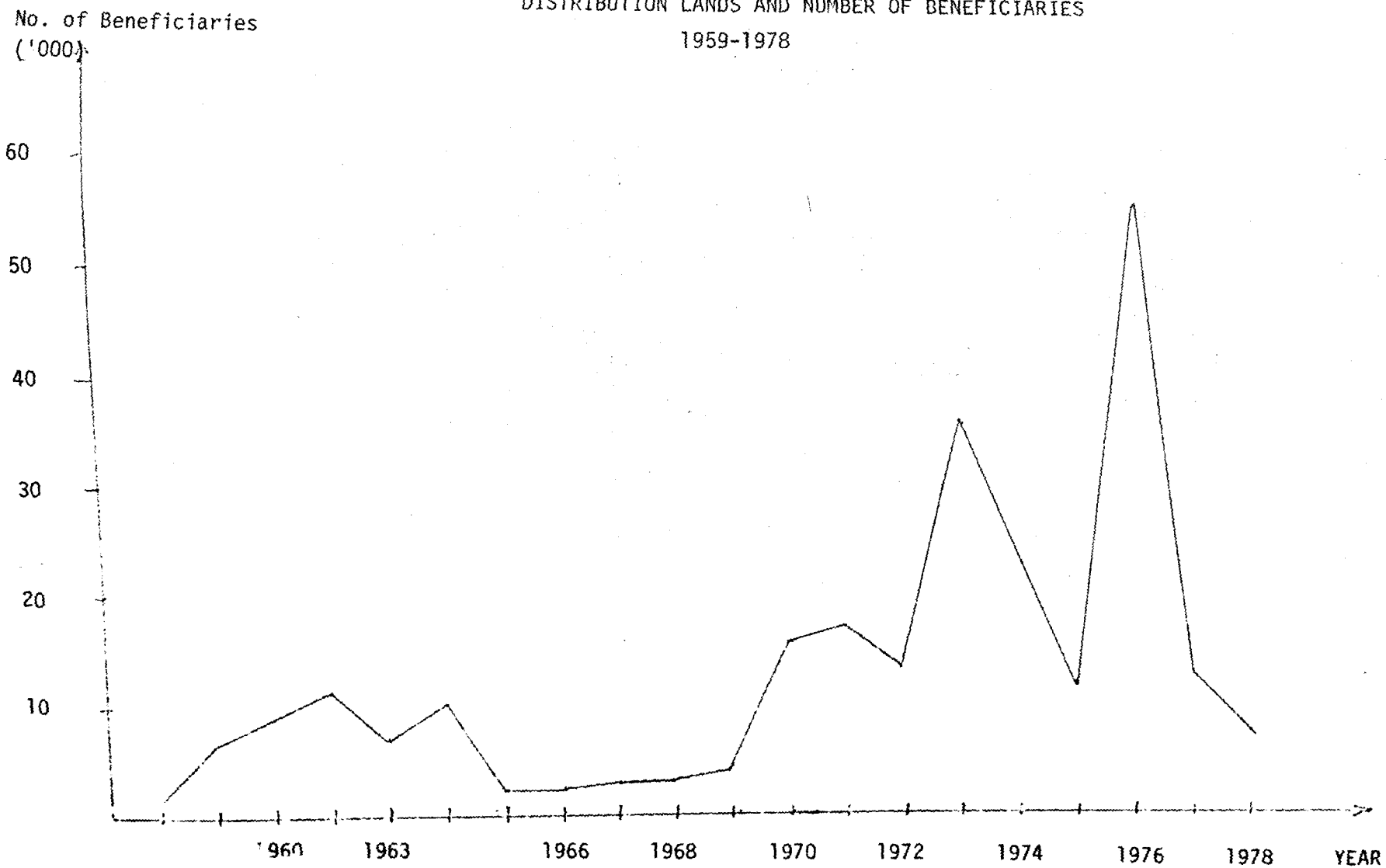
* For more details see section one in this chapter.

**TABLE 3.8. Distributed lands and number of beneficiaries
1959-1978**

Year	Distributed area (donums)		Total	Number of
	Miri lands	Sequestered land		
1959	36,900	-	36,900	615
1960	59,504	223,925	283,429	7,393
1961	198,305	293,726	492,031	9,460
1962	67,876	569,647	637,523	11,170
1963	203,618	177,161	380,779	6,779
1964	149,532	267,452	416,984	9,599
1965	27,830	52,852	80,682	1,984
1966	26,771	55,422	82,193	2,340
1967	60,156	81,281	141,437	3,290
1968	149,402	73,846	223,248	3,183
1969	54,005	166,673	220,678	3,585
1970	230,793	131,334	362,127	15,138
1971	429,634	171,409	601,043	17,235
1972	191,593	211,016	402,609	12,968
1973	315,702	546,164	861,866	36,040
1974	331,012	282,553	613,565	23,866
1975	146,767	163,727	310,494	11,308
1976	315,598	472,783	1,194,252	53,755
1977	n/a	n/a	137,803	12,688
1978	n/a	n/a	139,243	7,382
Total	3,679,292	3,949,594	7,618,886	248,758

SOURCE: (a) Iraq, Ministry of planning, C.S.O. statistical pocket book 1975, table (13), p.22.
 (b) Iraq, Ministry of planning, C.S.O. A.A. of statistics, Baghdad 1976, table (11) p.112.
 (c) Iraq, Ministry of planning, 1977, table (32) p.92.
 (d) Iraq, Ministry of planning, 1978, table (19) p.81.

DISTRIBUTION LANDS AND NUMBER OF BENEFICIARIES
1959-1978



for short-term contracts.

According to the Iraqi Ministry of Planning (1976, pp.111-113), the enactment of the land reform laws since 1958 resulted in the actual expropriation of 7,444,476 donums by the end of 1976. By adding to this figure an area of 3,798,544 donums, a total area of 11,243,030 donums is no longer in the hands of the old owners. This area is supposed to be subject to redistribution to the landless peasants, but the land distribution process has been lagging behind land expropriation.

The new land reform law No. 117 of 1970, provided not only for the formation of co-operatives to help the peasants individually, but also to help them in collective farms. As article No. 30 of the 1970 land reform illustrates, the functions of these co-operatives may be summarised as follows:-

1. To organise the various kinds of agricultural plans and utilise the land intensively.
2. To assist farmers in the implementation of agricultural plans and to increase agricultural production.
3. To provide farmers with the requisite technical material and equipment for the development and increase of agricultural production.
4. To assist farmers in acquiring or hiring agricultural machinery, tools, and means of transport, as well as assisting them in methods of utilising chemical fertilisers and insecticides, and the reclamation of land and its improvements.
5. To assist in the marketing of agricultural products generally and pre-marketing methods, such as harvesting, classification and

grading of crops as well as storage, dehydration, canning, shipping etc.

6. To improve housing and living conditions broadly; to raise the social, cultural and hygienic standards of the people in order to decrease the disparity between the urban and rural populations.

7. To assist in obtaining loans for farmers and to render any other services necessary for the advancement of agricultural development.

The government took the initiative at expanding the number of agricultural co-operatives and improving their performance. However, the new law devoted section 4 to the agricultural co-operative societies. It was supplemented by the instruction No.149 for the year 1972 from the higher agricultural council, in order to affirm the basis for the organisation of the local agricultural co-operative. These co-operatives were established and registered according to the provisions of the land reform law No. 117 of 1970, and instructions of the higher agricultural board, including all the co-operative societies at the village level. These co-operatives are considered by the government as a step towards establishing a collective farm. However, the local co-operatives up to now are not efficient enough to fulfil the need of the agricultural sector and therefore, some of them are being neglected.

By 1979, the total number of agricultural co-operatives was 1,987 containing 342,000 members, covering an area of about 23 million donums. (Abraham, A. 1979, p.23). The area of these co-operatives represented about 48% of the agricultural land in Iraq (i.e. 48 million donums), as mentioned earlier in Chapter two.

The proportion of the beneficiaries who were members of co-

operatives was 76.2% of the total number of land reform programme beneficiaries. This indicated that there was a significant improvement in the performance of these co-operatives. Furthermore, the agricultural co-operative societies have expanded their activities outside the land reform area; the number of co-operatives was 71, with members, landlords and tenants, working an area of 0.5 million donums. Thus, the co-operative network has established itself as a link between the public sector and public institutions and farmers in the introduction of modern technology and the provision of complementary services in the rural areas (Hassan, 1975, p.280).

From the implementation of land reform law of 1970, one notes different levels of production of the main crops. First when we compare the annual average production for 1964-68 and 1969-73, cereal production increased by 15%, rice production increased by 62% and the production of cotton increased by 19%. Then if we look at comparisons over the period 1964-68 and 1974-78, cereal production declined by 16%, rice production by 43%, whereas the production of cotton increased by 19%.

The main factor in the decline of cereal production, especially that of barley seems to be the decline in the area under barley cultivation, which fell from 4.0 million donum to 2.3 million donums for the above mentioned period. On the other hand, rice production increased by 0.8% in spite of the fact that the area under rice cultivation fell from an average of 361000 donums to 195000 donums in the same period above. This was probably due to improvements of yields and a decline in cotton production of 63% as shown in table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9. Production of Iraq's main crops 1969-73/1974-78

Crops	Year	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	Average 1969-73	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	Average 1974-78
Wheat		1183	1236	822	2625	957	1365	1339	845	1302	696	910	1018
Barley		963	682	432	980	642	740	533	437	597	458	617	528
Total cereals		2146	1918	1254	2605	1599	2105	1872	1282	1899	1054	1527	1546
Rice		318	180	-	-	-	249	-	61	163	199	-	141
Cotton		29	41	43	51	45	42	40	39	34	26	14	31

SOURCE: Derived from Table (A) Appendix.

At this juncture one may conclude that the first land reform of 1958 satisfied the needs of 261,758 landless peasants by the end 1968, or almost 38.2% of the total landless peasants. The second land reform of 1970 fulfilled the needs of an additional 187,162 landless peasants by 1978. Altogether, the total number of beneficiaries, whether new owners or tenants under temporary contracts totalled 448,920 landless peasants under the first and the second land reform programmes, that is almost 66% of the total 685,000 landless peasants in Iraq, according to the 1957-1958 agricultural census. Also the programmes provided employment and income earning opportunities for 66% of landless peasants.

What strategy did the landlords adopt in the face of the expropriation of their lands? The landlords were able to adapt themselves to the new system after 1958, when they found allies among the peasantry. Their economic power was only reduced not destroyed, and tribalism and kinship were still strong and supplied them with allies among the peasantry. Some people worked for them because of economic dependence, others protected the landlords' interests and backed them up because they were relatives.

Although landlords were no longer allowed to designate which areas were to be relinquished, in practice the landlords retained their most fertile tracts close to the sources of irrigation. This was apparently due to their personal and political influence with the requisitioning authorities. Moreover, the land reform programme could not be effectively implemented according to the actual provision of the legislation, because the landlords managed to find loopholes in the law. These enabled them to retain the most productive part of their

land by registering the land in the name of their dependants and they were able to rent distributed land from disillusioned peasants, in spite of the fact that their estates were reduced in size. However, such loopholes enabled the landlords to continue exploiting their peasants by luring their irrigation facilities and machinery to them for higher prices than were anticipated in the legislation. In addition the landlord invested their returns from the land in buildings and factories.

As the political report (1979, pp.84-85) asserted:

"Despite the radical reform law, reducing the limits of ownership and thus providing extra land for distribution to poor peasants, there are still many peasants who own no land and are compelled to hire out their labour to small and medium landowners, or to migrate to the towns in search of employment. The natural increase in population, new families setting up house, and the growing mechanisation of farming will raise their numbers still further. More and more peasants will have to sell their labour to landowners or to move to towns. As a result, exploitation in rural areas will increase, promoting a new sort of class conflict, while at the same time unemployment worsens. Moreover, the break-up of large land holdings, though in itself progressive and democratic, reduces productivity and harms the general development of agriculture".

During the period under study, many amendments were instituted, the most important being made after the 1968 Revolution on the 10th May 1969. This cancelled the compensation for feudal landlords and their so-called land option for the areas left to them under the old law, number 30 of 1958. The land was distributed free to the peasants, and there was conveyance of property to peasants' co-operative societies; this included all farm machinery, tractors, harvesters, threshers, pumps etc. This was one of the major schemes concluded by the Law No. 117 of 1970. (The Political Report, 1974, p.140).

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions which could be drawn from the foregoing discussion are that:

- (1) The enforcement of land title settlement policies during the period 1932-1958 resulted in extreme inequality in land distribution among the peasants.
- (2) The concentration of landownership in the hands of a few landlords led to the emergence of a semi-feudalistic system and its concomitant tenancy system. The sharecropping pattern encouraged the landlords to adopt an extensive cultivation pattern without due attention to the impoverishment of soil over time.
- (3) A land reform programme has been under implementation since 1958. The implementation of land reform so far has achieved many goals, among which are (a) the weakening of the landlords' position and political power, (b) the strengthening of the peasants' position, (c) the creation of a new sense of allegiance according to the common interest of protection against exploitation, (d) more equitable land distribution than existed before 1958.
- (4) Most of the lands which have been distributed to the landless peasants in compliance with both land reform laws are of poor quality, and hence the standard of living of the beneficiaries of the land reform has not been improved.
- (5) There was a significant increase in co-operative societies especially after 1963, but experience showed that these societies still suffer from the weakness of members' participation, inadequacy of finance and scarcity of managerial personnel. It is very important to overcome all these weaknesses and to achieve effective replacement of landlords and their hired managers.

CHAPTER FOUR

AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT POLICY WITHIN THE SUCCESSIVE DEVELOPMENT PLANS DURING THE PERIOD 1950-1974

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will be devoted to an examination of the specific government agrarian objectives embodied in successive development plans during the period 1950-1974. This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first one I shall describe the Development Boards' programmes from 1951 to 1959, and make observations on these programmes. The second section is devoted to the second stage of the development plans during the period 1959-1969 and their performance. The third section concerns the National Development Plan 1970-1974. The fourth section will contain a summary and evaluation of the plans.

4.2. THE DEVELOPMENT BOARD PROGRAMMES (1951-1959)

The Iraqi government established a Development Board in 1950, according to the law No. 23 of 1950, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister with a membership including the Minister of Finance and six full-time executive members to be appointed by the Council of Ministers for a five-year term which might also be prolonged.

The Development Board was charged with a fourfold task (Law No. 23 of 1950):

1. To prepare a general plan for the development of the resources of Iraq and to raise the standard of living of her people. This plan was to include a general programme of the projects which were to be executed by the board, especially in the fields of water storage, flood control, irrigation and drainage.
2. To undertake a general survey of the exploited and un-exploited resources of Iraq.
3. To turn over the completed projects to the Ministers concerned with administration and maintenance, and

4. To make a report on its operation for the preceding year indicating the extent to which the general programme previously approved has been completed and the expenditure made in connection thereof.

In maintaining its development policy in the 1950s, the government assigned the agricultural sector a high priority ranking in the scale of economic development. The emphasis was on horizontal expansion, i.e. bringing new land under cultivation, rather than on radical expansion, i.e. increasing productivity and intensifying agricultural production, and therefore involving reform of the defective agrarian structure. Law No. 27 of 1953 created a Ministry of Development and transferred all the staff and technical sections of the Board to it.

The Board and its right arm, the Ministry of Development, launched four programmes, which were drawn up in 1951, 1952, 1955 and 1956. However the first and third programmes were abolished to be replaced by the second and fourth programmes respectively for the following two reasons. First future prospects were better than anticipated due to the rising oil prices and secondly, the completion of new surveys and studies made by experts on the Iraqi economy gave the Board new ideas and projects to be included in the revised programmes.

The following sections will now present the Development programmes which evolved during the period 1951-1959. The first was designed to cover the period 1951-1955, the second the period 1955-1959.

4.2.1. THE DEVELOPMENT BOARD'S FIRST PROGRAMME, 1951-1955

As mentioned earlier* the Board started to operate by the end of 1950. In response, it produced a five year programme for the period

1951-1955. This programme was endowed with a total government expenditure of I.D. 66 million to be financed out of an anticipated government revenue of I.D. 95.1. million (Law No. 35 of 1951). The allocation of government expenditure as well as the main sources of revenue are shown in table 4.1. This table reveals that the programme was paying attention to the agricultural sector, whereas nothing was allocated to industry.

However, the break-down of the agricultural sector shows that the Development Board concentrated mainly on the proposal of irrigation projects and flood control; the distribution of allocations in the Development Board's first programme are shown in table 4.2. This table shows the concentration of allocation in the irrigation and drainage projects. Furthermore, during the above period the operation started to implement the Tharthar project, Habania, Diyala storage, Dokan and Bakma etc.

4.2.2. THE DEVELOPMENT BOARD'S SECOND PROGRAMME, 1955-1959

The second (amended) development programme, 1955-1959, was more comprehensive than the previous programme, whether considered from the view point of the increased number of projects or the amount of expenditure.

This new programme had become necessary for several reasons: first of all, expected oil revenues far exceeded original estimates; secondly, the estimated cost of the first programme was also no longer realistic; and thirdly, the 1953 law had changed the basis of financing projects of other departments and agencies (Qubain, 1958, p.43).

TABLE 4.1 Planned expenditure and revenues of the Development Board's programmes during the period 1951-1959

Sector	1951 - 1955		1955 - 1959	
	ID	%	ID	%
Agriculture	30	46	114	38
Industry	-	-	44	14
Transport and Communications	16	24	74	24
Building and Housing	13	19	61	20
Others	7	11	11	4
TOTAL	66	100.0	304	100.0
Oil Revenue	91.1	95.8	215.0	99.68
Loans	4.0	4.2	0.6	0.28
Others	-	-	0.1	0.04
TOTAL	95.1	100.0	215.7	100.0

SOURCES: Government of Iraq, Laws Nos. 35 of 1951, 43 of 1955 and 54 of 1956.

TABLE 4.2 Allocation and actual expenditure for the
agricultural sector within the Development
Board's first programme 1951-1954 (In '000 I.D.)

Projects	Allocation	Actual Expenditure	Rate of implementation
<u>First: Irrigation Projects</u>			
1. Al-tharthar	9440	8919	94.5
2. Habania	1750	1651	94.3
3. Diyala storage	4550	333	7.3
4. Dokan storage	3900	1159	29.7
5. Bakma project	3700	293	10.6
6. Mosul and Arbil irrigation projects	900	63	7.0
7. Construction of Dam on south Al-Adiam river	800	-	-
8. Main drains	2100	485	23.1
9. Other irrigation project	3643	5774	63.1
Total	16646	32914	50.6

SOURCE: Rashid, K. 1974, p.128.

continued

TABLE 4.2 Allocation and actual expenditure for the agricultural sector within the Development Board's first programme 1951-1954 (In '000 I.D.)

Projects	Allocation	Actual Expenditure	Rate of implementation
<u>Second: Land reclamation projects</u>			
1. Surveys	750	157	20.9
2. Revivification of agricultural lands with small projects	1950	661	32.9
3. Reform of forest expansion	650	135	20.8
4. Elevation and improvement of livestock	750	13	1.7
5. Artesian wells and water logging	1200	1743	79.2
6. Land drainge logging and levelling	650	138	21.2
Total land revivification	6950	2847	40.9
Total agricultural sector	19493	39864	49.7

On the basis of Law No. 43 of 1955 the programme envisaged a total expenditure of I.D. 304 million, as compared with a total revenue estimated at I.D. 215.7 million as can be seen from table 4.1. The break-down of total planned expenditure demonstrates the importance accorded to the agricultural sector. The Development Board's second programme covered the period mentioned above (see table 4.3). This programme remained the same as the original one although its scope in general terms was enlarged. The projects concentrated mainly on the irrigation and flood control as shown in the table above.

There are some observations to be made on the Development Board's programmes during the period 1951-1959; the first observation concerns the lack of an analytical framework in order to determine their feasibility, and their contribution to the increase in national income. The Board was influenced by the engineers' viewpoint on the feasibility of the proposed projects rather than that of the economists. No consideration was taken of cost benefit analysis. A large amount of money was spent on the possible methods of increasing agricultural production through expansion of the cultivated land rather than increasing productivity of land already under cultivation. It is clear from the above discussion that there was a confusion between technical and economic efficiency. (Langeby, 1954, pp.91-93).

Secondly, the characteristic feature of the Boards' programmes were the 'Unbalanced' allocation of the investment funds. This can be seen from the higher percentage of investment funds allocated to the physical infrastructure such as flood control, irrigation, transportation, electrification and communication, which accounted for over 80% of the total planned expenditure. Thus, less than 20% remained for direct investment in agriculture and industry (Rashid, 1974, p.132).

TABLE 4.3 Allocation and actual expenditure for the
agricultural sector within the Development
Board's second programme 1955-1959 (In '000 I.D.)

Projects	Allocation	Actual Expenditure	Rate of implementation
<u>First: Flood control, irrigation and drainage projects</u>			
1. Euphrates river	17500	5712	32.6
2. Tigris, Al-Zabe, Al-Adiam and Al-Nahrawan rivers	18200	12376	68.0
3. Al-tharthar canal	17505	9269	53.0
4. Darbandikhan	16500	14309	86.7
5. Al-Karaf	6000	267	4.5
6. Drains	18300	5232	28.6
7. Reclamations and other projects	26250	3989	15.6
Total	120255	51154	42.5

SOURCE: Rashid, K. 1974, p.131.

continued

TABLE 4.3 Allocation and actual expenditure for the agricultural sector within the Development Board's second programme 1955-1959 (In '000 I.D.)

Projects	Allocation	Actual Expenditure	Rate of implementation
<u>Second: Agricultural projects</u>			
1. Surveys and Laboratories	1260	318	25.2
2. Unity of plantation wealth	2060	492	23.9
3. Forestry	900	510	56.7
4. Revivification of Miri land	1050	730	70.0
5. Artesian wells	3050	2675	87.7
6. Large water projects	1177	830	70.5
7. Mechanised agricultural tools	250	258	103.2
8. Institute of agriculture, cultural development	650	296	45.5
Total	10397	6214	51.8
Total agricultural sector	132292	57385	43.4

Thirdly, the beneficiaries of the Development Boards' projects were the large landowners who constituted the backbone of political systems. However, the government was unwilling to take affirmative action to change the land tenure system which could have resulted at least in a more congenial atmosphere to co-ordinate the desires of the peasants and the landlords to increase production. The government expected to relieve the inequality of landownership by expansion of the cultivated area rather than by intensifying cultivation on the actual agricultural land.

Fourthly, the increase in expenditure on these projects as well as employment opportunities in the centre of the cities caused huge migration from the rural areas to the urban centres during the period 1947-1957 (Hashem, 1971, p.470).

Before presenting other successive development plans during the period 1951-1959, one has to draw general conclusions:

Firstly, relying on table 4.1, which summarises the development programmes, it should be noted that agriculture took the highest share of total planned government expenditure which amounted to an average of 42% in each development programme, as compared to 14% for industry in the last programme.

This emphasis on government expenditure in agriculture throughout this period shows that this sector was to be the leading sector in the whole economy. Industry, centred around oil production, was the necessary source of finance for covering the large agricultural projects. Here, the policy-makers and government senior officers

alike chose to follow an unbalanced development path favouring agriculture. The choice of even increasing its outlays was supported through the rising oil prices especially when the OPEC countries in the early 1960s started using their oil resources as a strong economic and political weapon for their economic development.

4.3. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS 1959-1969

The second stage in development planning in Iraq started after the 1958 Revolution and lasted until 1969, during which time three development plans were drawn up. These plans were as follows: the first was the Provisional Economic Plan (PEP) 1959-1961; the second was the Detailed Economic Plan (DEP) 1961-1964; and third was the Five Year Economic Plan (FYEP) 1965-1969.

4.3.1. PROVISIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN 1959-1961

The first plan was considered as an interim means of providing an instrument for the completion of the projects that already had been started and to give the Board and the Ministry of Planning sufficient time to draw up a detailed plan (Law No. 181 of 1959).

We will concentrate our analysis on the latter two of the three above mentioned plans, since they should indicate more accurately the performance and priorities of post-revolutionary Iraq. It is, however, important to note that during the period of PEP, the ratio of actual and planned expenditure for the agricultural sector was lower than the comparable ratio for total expenditure in all sectors.

However, the performance of all sectors was poor, with actual spending only 43.2% of the planned expenditure. It was the first plan to give a high priority to industry relative to agriculture.

This emphasis allocated 61.7 million Iraqi Dinars to the agricultural sector out of the previous period. This plan can be explained on the grounds that this sector did not receive enough attention during a total sectoral allocation of I.D. 221.5 million, which meant 27.9% of the total (table 4.4). The proposed spending on the agricultural sector (77.9%) was to be devoted to the storage, irrigation and drainage projects, with only 2.6% to agrarian reform, as can be seen from table 4.5.

In addition the planned agricultural allocations were mainly for very costly irrigation projects, which constituted the prime investment policy in agriculture, in pre-1958 revolutionary Iraq, where the emphasis was on increasing the cultivable land rather than raising the productivity of the land already under cultivation. This was, given the importance attached to land reform seen as the means to raise the standard of living in rural areas, through the elimination of the old land tenure system, and its accompanying relations of production. One may assume that the government would give priority to investment in the agricultural sector.

4.3.2. DETAILED ECONOMIC PLAN 1961-1964

Almost two years later the provisional economic plan was replaced by a five year plan known as the Detailed Economic Plan for the years 1961-1964. This plan represented a new attitude toward planning in Iraq as it paid more attention to industry than to agriculture.

Instead of a decline in relative as well as absolute terms, the nature of the agriculture projects remained relatively the same as in the Board's Programmes; of the proposed spending on the agricultural sector 72% was to be devoted to the storage, irrigation and drainage projects, and only 4.2% to agrarian reform, as shown in table 4.6.

TABLE: 4.4

Planned and Actual Development Expenditure and Revenue
1951-1974 (Millions of Iraqi Dinars)

YEAR	AGRICULTURE					TOTAL SECTORAL			REVENUE			
	PLANNED EXPENDITURE (1)	ACTUAL EXPENDITURE (2)	(1)/(3) %	(2)/(1) %	(2)/(4) %	PLANNED EXPENDITURE (3)	ACTUAL EXPENDITURE (4)	(3)/(4) %	PLANNED (5)	ACTUAL (6)	(2)/(6) %	(6)/(5) %
1951-1958	123	61.7	29.3	50.2	26.8	419.6	230	54.8	350.9	318.0	19.4	90.8
1959-1960	61.7	19.5	27.9	31.6	20.5	221.5	95.3	43.2	49.4	43.4	45.0	87.9
1961-1964*	91.1	25.2	18.5	27.7	11.2	492.8	224.2	45.5	423.8	242.2	37.6	57.1
1965-1969	173.4	56.0	26.0	32.3	19.5	668	287.7	30.1	561.1	402.5	14.0	71.7
1970-1974	366.2	208.2	29.1	56.9	23.5	1259	886	70.4	-	-	-	-

Sources: compiled from (1) Al-Nasrawi, 1967, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50.

(2) Mahdi, 1976, 222 and

(3) Ministry of Planning, Economic Department.

* Note: The industrial sector was allocated 125 Millions ID which accounts for about 25.4% of the total allocation in this plan (i.e. 1961-1964)

TABLE 4.5 Provisional Economic Plan: Agricultural sector, 1959-1961
(In thousand I.D.)

Projects	Total Expenditure	% of total
1. Storage projects	8871	39.5
2. Irrigation, drainage and subterranean water projects	8634	38.4
3. Agriculture and livestock projects	1635	7.3
4. Agrarian Reform projects	595	2.6
5. Silo projects	187	0.9
6. Completion of projects	2535	11.3
Total	22457	100.0

Source: Rashid, K. 1974, p.157.

TABLE 4.6 The proposed spending on the various agricultural Projects, 1961-1965.

	Planned Expenditure in thousands of Iraqi dinars	%
Storage projects	14,900	13.2
Irrigation and drainage	66,425	58.8
Livestock development	6,583	5.8
Agrarian reform projects	4,806	4.2
Silo projects	3,276	2.9
Under table water projects	5,750	5.1
Ministry of Agriculture Projects	11,250	10.1
Total	112,990	100.0

SOURCE: Government of Iraq, Ministry of Agrarian Reform, Alali, M.S.
1967, p.202.

This plan allocated I.D. 91.1 million to the agriculture sector out of a total sectoral allocation of I.D. 492.8 million, which meant 18.5% of the total. However, the actual expenditure was only 27.7% of the total plan allocation, and 11.2% of the total expenditure for DEP as can be seen from table 4.4. This indicates not only the low priority of the agricultural sector, but also its low level of implementation as measured by the figures of actual expenditure. However, one can note that the DEP failed not only to provide balanced priorities among the different sectors, but also as the type of projects it included for implementation in its plans for the development of the agricultural sector. Another reason for failure was that the investment policies in the DEP, for the agricultural sector, were basically the same as those of pre-revolutionary Iraq.

Officially, the DEP lasted only two years and in February, 1963, a new government assumed power. Transitional annual expenditure programmes were drawn up for 1963 and 1964 that provided for programmed expenditure of I.D. 65.9 and 106.8 millions respectively (Badre, 1972, p.288).

4.3.3. FIVE YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN 1965-1969

The era of comprehensive planning began in 1965 when a new economic plan for the fiscal year 1965-1969 was introduced (Law, No. 87 of 1965). This plan was the first to run its full course, though the last two years of the plan were under the 1968 revolutionary government. It was decided in this plan to achieve three main objectives: first of all, achievement of a noticeable rise in the standard of living through an increase in the rate of economic growth and securing of a reasonable of economic stability; secondly, the restoration of equilibrium to the Iraqi economy and the reduction of dependence on oil revenues by diversifying investment and

production, and thirdly, an increase in the growth rate of the commodity sectors (i.e. agriculture and industry) to a high level. Specifically, in the light of the national economy's capacity for growth, the planners proposed that the minimum annual rate of growth should be as follows (Law No. 70 of 1970, pp.91-92). National income 8%, agriculture 7.5%, manufacturing 12% and the commodity sectors as a group 9.4%.

However, the necessary expenditure for achieving these targets was estimated at I.D. 821 million, of which 640 million were to come from the public sector and 181 million from expenditure by the private sector as shown in table 4.7. The public sector was to be financed by oil revenues, estimated at I.D. 390 million, foreign and domestic loans estimated at 95 million and 30 million respectively, and other revenues totalling I.D. 34.2 million (Law No. 87 of 1965). In this plan as in the previous one, priority was given to industry. However, it raised the share of agriculture in the total funds from the fourth priority to the second, as can be seen from the above table. For the first time there was an annual growth target of 7.5 per cent to be achieved by the agricultural sector. This target was certainly a step in the right direction toward a well developed agricultural plan. But it is very difficult to formulate a productive target for the agricultural sector given the fact that there is inadequate and unreliable field information. Besides, there is the fact that backward agriculture with its heavy dependence on weather and climate variations will fail to achieve such targets.

However, this plan was relatively more relevant to and successful for the agricultural sector. Its planned allocation for the

TABLE 4.7

The Five-year Economic plan, 1965-1969
(Millions of Iraqi Dinars)

Sector	Public sector	Private sector	Total	% of total
Agriculture	145.0	12.0	157.0	19.1
Industry, electricity and water	210.0	5.0	215.0	26.2
Transport and communication	99.0	20.0	119.0	14.5
Trade and service	1.0	3.0	4.0	0.5
Building, housing and social services	122.5	141.0	263.5	32.1
International Obligations	25.0	-	25.0	3.0
Planning and follow-up systems	2.5	-	2.5	0.3
Ministry of Defence Production Projects	35.0	-	35.0	4.3
Total	640.0	181.0	821.0	100.0

SOURCE: Government of Iraq, Law No. 87 of 1965.

agricultural sector was 26% of total sectoral allocations, while the actual expenditure of the agricultural sector was 19.5% of the total, see table 4.4. The actual expenditure of the agricultural sector's planned allocation, was I.D. 25.2 million for the previous plan (DEP), yet for this plan it amounted to I.D. 56.0 million. This makes the FYEP an improvement not only in the balancing of priorities among different sectors, but also in the level of implementation.

Table 4.4 reveals that the rate of implementation of investment targets in the central government sector was about 30%. Thus, the rate of implementation was very low in all economic sectors, despite the fact that this plan was allowed to run its full course. Although the plan did not reach very far in its coverage of all aspects of social and economic life, it was the first to be drawn according to the principle of comprehensive planning.

I am now going to compare planned and actual revenues and expenditure for the period 1959-1969. Table 4.4 reveals that while actual expenditure during the previous period (1951-1958) was I.D. 61.7 million, it was 19.5 million during this period (1959-1969). Although the actual expenditure was still below that of planned expenditure 31.6%, this, however, represented 45.0% of actual revenues as compared with only 19.4% during the previous period. Furthermore, during the period 1961-1964, it can be seen that while it was planned to spend I.D. 91.1 million, actual spending was 25.2 million, giving a rate of implementation of 27.7%. This represents about 38% of actual revenues. Finally, the rate of implementation of the 1955-1969 plan was 32.3%. This means that the actual revenue represents an even lower percentage i.e. 14% as compared with the previous plans.

There are some observations to be made on the development plans during the period 1959-1969: The first observation concerns the shift of emphasis from agriculture to industry after 1958, especially in the development plans of 1961-1965 and 1965-1969. This was due to the planning Boards' belief that most of the economically advanced countries are 'developed' because their economies are industrialised, and so that short way to the development is industrialisation. Thus, the factor contributing effectively to increase productivity in the industrial sector, which is difficult to be found in LDCs without increased productivity in the agricultural sector, which is difficult to be found in LDCs without increased productivity in the agricultural sector, is first and foremost the acquisition of the kind of large market open to advanced countries in industrial production. As Bauer and Yamey (1965) state:

"the best way for the government to hasten industrialisation may be for it to use more rather than less of its resources to encourage the enlargement of agricultural output and the improvement of agricultural techniques especially in the earliest stages of development". (Bauer and Yamey, 1965, p.236)

Furthermore, the planning board felt that the economy of Iraq needed the development of both agriculture and industry since they are not necessarily competitive but complementary.

The failure to co-ordinate planned and actual expenditures is still one of the main defects in Iraq's economic plans. As Rashid (1972) pointed out:

"the gap between the planned agricultural investment and the actual expenditure, reflects the urgent need for adequate financial measures to supplement and maintain the economic results of the distribution of land ownership in the land reform of 1958. Furthermore, it was planned to distribute 567,000 donums during the year 1965-1966 under the distribution plan, but by the end of 1966 only 80,682 donums had actually been distributed or about 14% of those planned". (Rashid, 1972,p.96).

In addition, the rate of implementation in the agricultural sector remained low, and the gap of utilised investment funds was still in evidence. The total planned investment devoted to the agricultural sector during the period 1951-1969 was about I.D. 456 million, the actual expenditure was I.D. 179 million. Thus the rate of implementation in the agricultural investment targets were only 39.4% as can be seen from table 4.8 below.

Finally, as a matter of fact one can conclude that during the period 1959-1966, the level of yearly implementation of planned projects in the agricultural sector, as measured by actual expenditure, was below that for the plan as a whole (except for 1960). As Al-Nasrawi (1967) pointed out:

"the agricultural development policy failed during this period to respond to the needs and goals of the structural change in the agricultural sector after 1958. As a result there was an apparent inconsistency between the goals of agrarian reform and those of agricultural development plans, indicating a contradiction within the Iraqi government apparatus, a situation which repeated itself in the different sectors". (Al-Nasrawi, 1967, p.75).

4.4. THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1970-1974

In April, 1970, the National Development Plan (NDP) was introduced according to the Law No. 70 of 1970. This was the second comprehensive plan carried out in the country since 1965 when the first plan of this kind was issued. The plan was presented as a tool for the development of the "socialist" system. This plan increased due to the large increase of oil revenues from 1970 onwards.

The main characteristic of this plan was its great emphasis on the agricultural sector, with more attention being paid to certain activities in this sector, in order to realise their economic return

TABLE 4.8 Allocation and actual expenditure between the sectors during the period 1951-1969 (In thousand I.D.)

Projects	Allocation	Actual Expenditure	Rate of implementation
Agriculture	456040	179874	39.4
Industry	400691	188998	47.2
Transportation and communications	444257	205229	46.2
Building and services	493126	287622	58.3
Total	1794114	861723	48.0

SOURCE: Ministry of Planning, Economic Department, 1960, 1961, 1965.

and their positive impact on agricultural activity. In addition there was a similar emphasis on the industrial sector to create the base from which the country could move towards scientific and technological progress in the shortest possible time, according to the Ministry of planning (1973, p.34).

The NDP aimed to achieve the following compound annual rates of growth as shown in table 4.9 below. The main objectives in the development of the agricultural sector under the NDP were:

- "1. To achieve an annual compound rate of growth of 6.9% in this sector.
2. To obtain self-sufficiency in the production of the principal agricultural crops and commodities.
3. To attain self-sufficiency in the production of new materials needed by the industrial sector.
4. Increase agricultural production, with emphasis on vertical expansion rather than horizontal expansion, i.e. intensification of agricultural production.
5. Following an import substitution policy, the substitution of the locally produced agricultural commodities for the important ones.
6. Increase the capacity of water storage for flood control and irrigation". (Hassan, 1975, p.215)

In order to achieve these particular objectives of the agricultural plan, it was deemed necessary to:

1. Emphasise the right for investment of agricultural ownership i.e. implementation of the land reform law no. 117 of 1970 ending the expropriation and distribution process.
2. Continue the process of flood control in order to reduce the amount of damage which it can cause economically.
3. Establish clearer water equilibrium in the construction of dams on the main rivers in order to facilitate the distribution of water, so as to take into account the increased needs for agricultural projects.
4. Concentrate on the limited number of agricultural projects, continuing the irrigation, drainage and soil reclamation projects and the establishment of the necessary enterprises i.e. administrative centres, co-operatives etc. i.e. completion in all aspects in order to follow some of the criteria in the choice of projects, such as the situation, the distance from the principal marketing centres the possibility of implementation, and a realistic evaluation the production and productivity of the project.

TABLE: 4.9

Gross National Product and National Income Objectives in the 1970-1974 Development Plan for Iraq
(percentage)

SECTOR	TOTAL INCREASE IN G.N.I. BY 1974	AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE	SECTOR	TOTAL INCREASE IN G.N.I. BY 1974	AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE
1- AGRICULTURE	39.9	6.9	9- HOUSING	18.3	3.4
2- MINING	9.4	1.8	10- PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE	30.9	5.5
3- INDUSTRY	69.8	11.2	11- OTHER SERVICE	44.5	7.6
4- ELECTRICITY, GAS AND WATER	72.0	11.4			
5- CONSTRUCTION	101.1	15.8			
COMMODITY SECTOR	32.6	5.8	SERVICE SECTOR	34.1	6.0
6- TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	44.8	7.7	G.D.P.	35.2	6.2
7- TRADE	50.1	8.5	FACTOR INFLOW	6.8	1.2
8- FINANCE	58.3	9.6	DEPRECIATION	36.4	6.4
DISTRIBUTION SECTOR	48.6	8.2	N.N.P. = NATIONAL INCOME	40.6	7.1

SOURCE: Ministry of planning, the detailed frame of 1970-74. Development plan, Baghdad, 1970.

However, the other projects should continue to see the minimum improvement of implementation taking into consideration the socio-economic conditions in each area.

5. To start with field drainage and to regulate the lands, to extract salt in the irrigation and drainage projects taking the following points into account:
 1. Availability of water for intensive agricultural purpose.
 2. Availability of human and mechanical possibilities for intensive agriculture when the processes of drainage, regulation and cleaning are completed.
 3. Establish independent administration for the project to hold responsibility over processes of implementation, cultivation and so on.
 4. The cost of land reclamation will be deduced from the cultivator if the land productivity increases.
6. Establish independent administration for the agricultural projects, so that such administration is responsible for all requirements of the project in its technical, administrative and financial aspects, in order to create economic integrated unity capable of increasing productivity. The project and its improvement, will be administered in a similar way to industrial projects.
7. Support the state farms by preparation for the requirements of agricultural production in order to transform them into leading farms and to be able to achieve what is prescribed to produce a variety of improved seeds. In addition to establish leading projects in the regions designated centres for the peasants' training in modern agriculture and use of advanced technology.
8. Complete the co-operative structure by supporting the co-operative movement and encouraging the collective farms to make decisions concern in the new co-operative societies in the area.
9. Support the agricultural extension and raise the technical standard and provide it with mass media, seed, fertilizers etc.
10. Encourage agricultural mechanisation, by providing relevant mechanised tools, and establishing necessary depots for repairs.
11. Protect agricultural production from disease through the preparation of means of protection and educating the peasants in their use.
12. Provide depots to store agricultural plant products and animal products and to provide a marketing system.

The plan called for a total investment of I.D. 1143.7 million with the share of the public sector estimated at I.D. 858.7 million, which accounted for about 75.1 per cent of the total plan allocation.

This share was distributed between the central government sector (I.D. 536.9 million) and the business public and local administration sector (estimated at I.D. 321.8 million) during the plan period. The investments of the private sector (excluding oil companies) were expected to contribute I.D. 285.0 million, mainly in the housing and construction sectors. Table 4.10 shows that the plan called for a total investment of I.D. 536.9 million by central government with priority in investment allocation going to agriculture, about 35 per cent compared with 24.6% to industry.

The investment allocation reflected the priority given to the agricultural sector. However, the allocation of this sector in the NDP was I.D. 211 million or 18.5% of the total expenditure, table 4.10 of the proposed spending on the agricultural sector, 33.6% was devoted to the storage, flood protection, irrigation, drainage and subterranean water projects and only 0.052% to the agrarian reform projects, as can be seen from table 4.11.

However, it would be interesting to compare planned and actual expenditures in the agricultural sector through the period 1970-1974. Table 4.12 reveals that the actual expenditures have usually fallen slightly from the planned levels. The main causes for such shortfalls were the result of poor administration, and this is especially the case for the period 1951-1969; the government continually changed its priorities from industry to agriculture, and then to housing and construction. Furthermore, there was an inadequate co-ordination between the Ministry of Planning and other governmental agencies involved in the country's development (Looney, 1977, p.121).

TABLE: 4.10

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL INVESTMENT IN THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1970-1974)
(IN MILLIONS OF IRAQI DINARS)

SECTOR	CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	%	PUBLIC ENTER- PRISES AND ADMINISTRATION	PRIVATE SECTOR	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
AGRICULTURE	185.0	34.5	8.0	18.0	211.0	18.5
INDUSTRY, MINING AND ELECTRICITY	132.0	24.6	212.0	50.0	394.0	34.5
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	60.0	11.2	54.3	35.0	149.3	13.0
BUILDING SERVICES	75.0	14.0	47.5	182.0	304.5	26.6
INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS	44.0	8.2	-	-	44.0	3.8
LOANS	27.3	5.1	-	-	27.3	2.4
OTHERS	13.6	2.5	-	-	13.6	1.2
TOTAL	536.9	100.0	321.8	285.0	1143.7	100.0

SOURCE: The Official Gazette, Law No. 70 for 1970, Government of Iraq, p.184.

TABLE 4.11 Allocation of the Agricultural sector in the National Development Plan during the period 1970-74.
(Thousands of Iraqi Dinars)

Projects	Total cost	Total plan Allocation	Percentage of the total
1. Storage and flood protection	91235	28490	8.5
2. Irrigation and drainage projects	281127	78954	23.3
3. Agrarian Reform irrigation projects	175	175	0.052
4. Agricultural production projects	59150	24156	7.2
5. Agricultural services projects	49356	45175	13.4
6. Agricultural products marketing projects	10000	10000	3.0
7. Subterranean water projects	6000	6000	1.8
8. Other new projects	250000	143535	42.6
Total	847043	336385	100.0

SOURCE: Iraq Ministry of Planning, the National Development Plan for the years 1970-1974.

TABLE 4.12 Planned and Actual expenditure in the NDP
1970-1974 (Millions of Iraqi dinars)

Agriculture	1970 - 1974
Planned expenditure	366
Actual expenditure	208
	—
The gap in expenditure	158
Percentage decrease	43.2%

SOURCE: Derived from table 4.4.

The implementation of agricultural development planning in Iraq was hampered from the outset by the lack of trained staff, both administrative and technical and there was a shortage of legal advisers, surveyors, engineers, and skilled administrators, besides the high percentage of illiteracy among the peasants.

As Watson and Dirlam (1965) pointed out:

"...three of the most serious obstacles to effective planning are a lack of suitable information on which to base planning, a lack of appropriate projects, and a lack of qualified and motivated personnel. They suggest that much more effort in planning needs to be aimed at removing these restraints; to make planners more aware of the need for such changes much more pooling of experience is needed, particularly of unsuccessful experience". (Watson and Dirlam, 1965, p.29).

However, a programme commonly implemented without "adequate" data is land reform. As Gittinger, (1966) states:

"There is no clear indication that any of the economic or social objectives of land reform were better achieved when suitable statistics were prepared beforehand. About all that can be deduced from analysis of experience is that countries such as Japan, where land reform was carried out in a more systematic manner, were better organised both for land reform and general administration. Hence, the weight of professional economic, as well as political, opinion is that, while data is important and continuing efforts should be made to prepare better data, planning should not be postponed until better data has been prepared" (Gittinger, 1966, p.68).

In the successive development plans a great deal of attention was paid to the importance of the agricultural sector. It is instructive to see the amount of allocated resources that have been devoted to the agrarian reform. This would provide some insight on the priority accorded to it in development plans.

If we look at table 4.5 we see that the allocation for the agrarian reform projects as a percentage of the agricultural sector allocation was 2.6%. This figure is rather low but reflects the

relative importance accorded to agriculture in the plan covering the year 1959-1961, when industry was considered to be the main priority. In fact this amount was inadequate to ensure the proper implementation of the 1958 land reform. Nevertheless, this amount benefited the landlords whose lands had been expropriated rather than the peasants to whom these lands were to be distributed (as noted in chapter three) for the simple reason that the compensation given to the landlords included rights to the most fertile and most accessible lands. This low level of finding, coupled with administrative problems meant that the distribution of land was a slow process, whereas lands could be easily and quickly sequestered, the procedures for their distribution were complicated by the need to undertake land surveys, the lack of information about the cultivable and non-cultivable areas etc.

Table 4.6 reveals that agrarian reform projects received 4.2% of the agricultural sector budget during the period of the 1961-1965 plan. This is indicative of the general shift in emphasis in the development plans from agriculture to industry. However, even so, the funds were inadequate and there was also a large discrepancy between the planned and actual rates of distribution as Rashid pointed out and as I have quoted earlier on page 145. Rashid also had this to say about the success of land reform for the period 1958-1964:

"It seems that six years of agrarian reform have achieved only its political goal of removing the landlords. There has hardly been any progress towards the social and economic goals because of a lack of inadequate financial support. It must be noted that a redistribution of land ownership does not necessarily lead to improvement in productivity" (Rashid, 1972, p.96).

For the following development plan he had this to say:

"Regarding the economic plan of 1965-1969, although it can be considered as a first attempt in Iraq towards more comprehensive, integrated planning, the gap of unutilized investment funds was still evident" (Rashid, 1972, p.96).

As regards the last plan discussed in this Chapter, that is the one covering the period 1970-1974, the allocation for agrarian reform projects as a percentage of the agricultural sector allocation was only 0.052%. Although this figure is very low, nevertheless, this plan placed the main emphasis on the agricultural sector. Also 1970 was the date of the second land reform law and marked the beginning of a more serious and determined attempt at land distribution. Unlike in the 1958 land reform, there was a more conscious effort to improve the lot of the peasants by giving them lands free and there was no attempt to compensate landlords whose lands were expropriated.

4.5 EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND PLANS 1951-1974

During the period 1951-1958 when both planning and execution were centralised, the Development Board prepared four development programmes. All of these were abolished or replaced before their expiry. The idea of planning as an integrated set of targets was conceived only after 1959, and attention at this stage was paid to social needs and institutional reforms. The third stage, after 1969, marks the beginning of efforts towards a comprehensive plan with well integrated social, economic and physical targets and fixed term programmes (Hashem, 1975, p.48).

One distinguishing feature of the Board's programmes was the lack of "balanced" allocation of the expenditure funds. This can be seen from the higher percentage of expenditure funds allocated to the physical infra-structural projects, mainly flood control and irrigation, building, transportation and communication which account for over 80% of the total planned expenditure. Thus less than 20% was allocated for direct expenditure in agriculture and industry as

can be seen from Table 4.13. The private sector remained outside the scope of planning efforts.

Links between public and private investment were neglected and no policies for organising the activities of the private sector were introduced. Furthermore, these programmes did not even mention such concepts as national income targets, employment objectives and other social and economic policies and targets. But there was only a passing mention that the programmes were intended to raise the standard of living through the development of the country's resources. Thus, it could be said that the scope of these programmes was extremely limited and their influence on the development and organisation of the national economy was slight.

The PEP of 1959-1960 was just an interim plan drawn up to provide an instrument for the completion of the previous investment projects, and to give the Planning Board sufficient time to prepare a detailed economic plan. This plan followed the path of the earlier programmes in its scope and foundation. Social and economic objectives were not introduced. The private sector remained outside the planning efforts and no adequate policies were adopted to ensure an appropriate link between the activities in the various economic sectors.

If we evaluate the performance of this plan on an annual basis; we see that at the beginning of 1959 when the fourth programme was in effect and was being carried out by the new government (i.e. the 1958 regime), the ratio of actual to planned expenditure for the agricultural sector was 34.1%. This was lower than the previous two years' ratio of 40% and 45% for the year 1958 and 1957 respectively.

TABLE 4.13

DISTRIBUTION OF PLANNED EXPENDITURE IN THE IRAQI DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES, 1951-1960

SECTOR	FIRST DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 1951-1955	SECOND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 1951-1956	THIRD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 1955-1960	FOURTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 1955-1960	TOTAL 1951-1960 I.D. MILLION	PER CENT
	PER CENT		PER CENT			
IRRIGATION	46	34	38	34	365	34.4
INDUSTRY	-	20	14	13	142	13.4
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	24	17	24	25	241	22.7
BUILDING AND HOUSING	19	12	20	25	251	23.7
OTHERS*	11	17	4	3	61	5.8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	1060	100.0

SOURCES: Compiled from the Development Programmes Laws Nos. 23 for 1951, 25 for 1952, 43 for 1955 and 54 for 1956.

* NOTE: Including the minor projects whose execution was carried out by various Ministries.

For the second year 1960, the performance was very high, with actual spending of 60% of the planned expenditure, as shown in Table (4.12).

The DEP 1961-1964 was just an expansion and redistribution of the previous allocations with merely a passing mention that the aims of the plan was to double the national income in ten years. This aim in fact, depended on an arbitrary capital output ratio. While the specific targets such as employment and the level of production in different sectors were not included. This plan did not pay attention to the problem of co-ordinating the different sectors. This shortcoming is pronounced in this case because it took the government and the economic planning board more than two years to formulate a plan which can be classified as a list of public investment projects (Al-Nasrawi, 1967, p.62).

If we evaluate the annual performance of this plan, we find that in 1961, the rate of performance began to resume its downward movement, decreasing from 42% in 1961 to 31% in 1962 and falling to 20% in 1963, only to be followed by an even lower rate of 19% in 1964. (Table 4.14).

The FYEP was a much more detailed plan of action than any previous one. This plan for the first time, included economic activities in the private sector, although serious policies were not laid down which would ensure the realisation of targets. Moreover, the plan aimed at increasing national income at an annual rate of growth of 80% while the actual annual rate of growth achieved was 5.4%. The industry sector was estimated to be developing at 12.0% annually, the attained rate of growth was just about 6.3% annually. The rate of growth of agriculture was planned to be 7.5% per annum, the achieved rate of

TABLE 4.14 PLANNED AND ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE 1951-1969
(MILLIONS OF IRAQI DINARS)

Year	Agriculture			Total Sectoral			Revenue		
	Planned (1)	Actual (2)	% 2/1	Planned (3)	Actual (4)	% 4/3	Planned (5)	Actual (6)	(6)/(5) %
1951	3.0	0.8	27	9.4	3.1	33	10.5	7.5	71
1952	7.1	2.5	35	20.5	7.8	38	20.5	24.0	117
1953	10.8	4.8	44	28.4	12.3	43	33.8	35.3	104
1954	11.9	8.5	71	31.6	20.9	66	43.9	40.7	117
1955	13.1	10.9	83	46.6	33.3	71	44.8	60.8	136
1956	24.0	11.3	47	81.9	43.0	53	65.8	52.1	79
1957	26.9	12.1	45	101.6	57.4	56	65.8	55.9	55
1958	27.0	10.8	40	99.6	52.2	52	65.8	61.7	94
1959	25.5	8.7	34	84.5	49.8	58.9	49.4	43.4	88
1960	18.1	10.8	60	137.0	45.5	33	-	47.8	-
1961	23.4	9.8	42	147.5	61.2	41	-	66.7	-
1962	20.2	6.3	31	108.1	58.5	54	-	67.7	-
1963	22.8	4.5	20	117.6	53.5	45	-	66.6	-
1964	24.7	4.6	19	119.6	51.8	43	-	-	-
1965	25.0	6.0	23.9	126.0	49.8	39.5	99.0	75.0	75.8
1966	37.0	8.5	23.0	143.1	65.0	45.4	121.2	70.8	58.4
1967	37.1	11.0	29.7	142.3	61.6	43.3	86.7	80.8	93.2
1968	37.1	13.0	35.7	129.0	54.3	42.1	89.9	87.0	96.0
1969	37.2	17.5	47.1	127.6	57.0	44.7	116.9	118.9	116.0
Total	431.9	162.4	37.6	1,801.9	838.0	46.5	914.0	1,012.7	110.8

SOURCES:

Compiled from: (1) Al-Nasrawi, 1967, pp.44-48 and 49-50.

(2) Mahdi, 1976, p.222

(3) Ministry of Planning, Economic Department

(4) Ministry of Planning, Framework of MOP, 1970-74, 1970, pp.144-149 and p.151.

growth was 4.6% per annum. However, one can note that the plan achieved a limited success in the implementation of its targets. Finally, it is worth noting that the highest rate of performance in the agriculture sector during the period 1951-1969 was 83%, achieved in 1955, a rate which was never regained.

The National Development Plan (NDP) 1970-1974 was a much more detailed one, aimed at: (a) achieving integration between all productive projects on a regional and national level; (b) covering public and private activities; (c) changing the structure of the economy and reducing dependence on crude oil, and (d) extending the public sector.

However, the annual rate of growth of GDP achieved was 7.35% compared with a planned rate of 6.20%*. By sector, the annual rates of growth achieved were: agriculture 0.59% compared with a planned 6.9%; industry 8.35% compared with a target of 12.0%. In spite of the main principles introduced by the plan for achieving concentration and integration in the productive projects in such a way as to ensure attainment of their final stages and the realisation of their returns as soon as possible, the productive sector did not realise even the planned rates of growth before an increase was made in the plan's outlays. The main constraints that hindered the implementation of plan's targets were probably the absence of wise investment policy, quantitatively and qualitatively, that would ensure the attainment of rational utilization of other resources in accordance with their present situation and their development in the future. Moreover,

* This rate is computed for the period 1969-1974 at 1969 prices. Ministry of Planning, Domestic product and national income in Iraq 1964-1974, 1976.

the absence of a wise integrated investment policy side by side with the retardation in the process of executing projects led to many bottlenecks which hindered the process of development in the country. Furthermore, financing short-comings in plan implementation, as shown in Table 4.15 is one of the main problems facing the planning process in the country (Al-Nasrawi, 1967). The inadequacy and insufficiency of national cadres, particularly, engineers, caused profound shortcomings in the execution and operation of the plan projects. The execution of programmes and plans was also affected by quantitative and qualitative deficiencies of personnel in the development administration sector.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In spite of all the attempts at development that have been undertaken during the period 1951-1974, the growth of the Iraqi economy still relies mainly upon crude oil. This sector has remained the main source of financing economic development in the country. However, there was a noticeable shift in emphasis from irrigation to industry. This can be explained on the grounds that this sector did not receive enough attention during the period 1951-1958. Then agriculture seemed to have been pushed to the background relative to other sectors by receiving the lowest share of the total funds. Furthermore, none of the programmes and plans, which were drawn up during the period 1951-1965, mentioned such concepts as national income growth, employment objectives, and other social and economic targets and necessary policies. On the other hand, the plans of the period 1965-1974 were not established on the basis of achieving conformity with such objectives as national income, production investment, employment, etc.

BLE: 4.15

SECTORAL ALLOCATION, ACTUAL EXPENDITURE AND RATES OF EXECUTION OF THE DIFFERENT INVESTMENT PROGRAMMES AND PLANS IN IRAQ - 1951-1974

SECTOR	1951-1958					1959-1964					1965-1969					1970-1974				
	ALLOCA TION	%	EXPEND -ITURE	%	FINAN -CIAL EXEC- UTION	ALLOCA TION	%	EXPEND -ITURE	%	FINAN -CIAL EXEC- UTION	ALLOCA TION	%	EXPEND -ITURE	%	FINAN -CIAL EXEC- UTION	ALLOCA TION	%	EXPEND -ITURE	%	FINAN -CIAL EXEC- UTION
AGRICULTURE	143.8	34.4	74.1	32.9	51.5	136.0	20.1	51.1	14.7	37.6	173.4	26.0	56.0	15.7	32.3	366.2	19.0	208.2	17.8	56.9
INDUSTRY	62.1	14.8	30.9	13.7	49.8	150.5	22.2	54.1	15.5	35.9	187.2	28.0	103.9	29.0	55.5	391.0	20.2	327.4	28.0	83.7
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	109.1	26.1	55.1	24.5	50.5	194.0	28.6	89.0	25.5	45.9	110.0	16.5	61.2	17.1	55.6	219.3	11.4	176.9	15.1	80.7
BUILDING AND SERVICES	103.3	24.7	65.0	28.9	62.8	197.4	29.1	154.6	44.3	78.3	134.8	20.2	66.3	18.5	49.2	283.0	14.6	169.2	14.5	59.8
MISCELLANEOUS*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62.5	9.3	70.6	19.7	672.6	672.6	34.8	288.2	24.6	42.8
TOTAL	418.5	100.0	225.1	100.0	53.8	677.9	100.0	348.8	100.0	51.5	668.1	100.0	358.3	100.0	53.6	1932.1	100.0	1169.9	100.0	60.6

SOURCE: Compiled from Hashem, J., 1968; Al-Shaikly, F., 1974; Al-Nasrawi, A., 1967 and Ministry of Planning, C.S.O., 1975

NOTE: Includes 1) Institutions of planning, follow-up, statistics and other institutions
 2) Loans granted to Government Departments and Organisations, including interest borne by the plan
 3) International obligations
 4) Other investment expenditure

Hence integration between planned targets remained for the most part a general concept. However, the plans during the period 1961-1965 did not pay attention to the problem of co-ordinating the various sectors, or the importance of involving the private sector in the plan.

Finally, it can be said that the Iraqi experiment has failed to evoke a strong response from the non-oil sector to the development stimulus and has failed to achieve major structural change in the economy especially during the period before the 1968 revolution.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we have attempted to examine the effects of Land Reform upon agricultural development in Iraq in the period 1958-1978. The year of 1958 is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, it was the year when a relatively 'progressive' regime came into power with a declared policy to transform the social structure of production. Secondly, it signalled a new emerging economic feature, the rising importance of the oil sector in the national economy, with important implications for Iraq's political economy. Oil revenues have gradually assumed a determinant role in deciding particular forms of development policies and emphasis which are reflected in the allocation of resources in different economic activities.

The agricultural sector has taken an inconsistent priority in overall development programmes. In the period prior to 1958, some measures of land reform were initiated rather unsuccessfully to modify the highly concentrated land ownership and to curtail political influence of big landowners. The 1958 land reform, though successful in breaking down the feudalistic structure and introducing new forms of production systems, largely failed in its socio-economic goal of increasing the living standard of the majority of the peasants who have benefited from land redistribution.

In the following pages a short summary of our findings is presented. The first chapter is devoted to a brief examination of the theoretical arguments relevant to land reform and serves as an overall background to this study. The concepts of 'Land Reform' are defined in two different ways. One, a narrow definition, is adopted to refer only to the distribution of land to peasants who work under

the specific production relation of landlord and peasant. The other definition of the land reform concept tends to provide a much more comprehensive approach extending to a large range of concomitant measures such as a credit system with direct state participation, transport and marketing facilities, and subsidised machinery and other means of production. The latter definition is considered as a part of agricultural policies intended not only to increase agricultural output but also to change the quality of life of the majority of the peasantry in the rural areas.

In the course of this analysis, we have distinguished two different arguments put forward by social researchers. The first one, which could be labelled as the "conservative approach" tends to emphasise the negative economic aspects of land reform in terms of a fall in the level of production and the system in which the distribution of the factors of production are fundamentally disrupted. It is argued that this group inclines to very mild land reform where such disruption can be minimised. Transformation should be initiated by limited state involvement so as to reduce the unwanted consequences of a radical land reform. The second one, the "radical approach", sees land reform essentially as a political action to reconstruct production into new forms with specific political outcomes. It is argued that the primary objective of land reform is to eliminate the political power of big landlords by creating a new social class (independent peasantry) whereby the threat of socio-political instability in the countryside can be removed. At the same time, it is assumed that those peasants who leave the land can be productively employed in the activities located in urban areas. This it is argued will inevitably increase agricultural output per person and provide some social benefits to those who remain in farming.

Both groups agree on the obstacles that a land reform is likely to face as the different phases of its implementation progress. The experience of land reform, in different countries is that the early stages tend to be successful because of the removal of the structural landlord/peasantry relationship. Peasants are motivated to produce more and retain a larger part of their produce. The later phases have become gradually more difficult to implement, partly because of the political failure to maintain incentives to the peasantry to increase production and partly because of the adverse effects of land reform where the state has not been able to provide the necessary supplementary elements of production nor the required co-ordination between various state agencies all of which tend to increase the level of dissatisfaction of the peasantry.

Chapter two described Iraq's physical features, soils, climatic variations and availability of water which have direct effects on the agricultural sector. A large part of Iraq's territory consists of desert, approaching 60% of the country's total area. The potential cultivable land is about 48 million donums which is only 26.4% of total land. One-third is located in the rainfed zone and two-thirds consists of irrigated lands. The actual cultivable land amounted to about 23 million donums, which is 48% of the total cultivable land under cultivation. Because of the fallow system and lack of rain in different parts of the country during the summer season, the land actually utilized annually does not exceed 12 million donums or 25% of the total potentially cultivable land.

One of the main reasons why potentially fertile lands remain uncultivated or under-utilized is the lack or shortage of an adequate water supply. As the country possesses large water resources which

are not yet fully utilized for the benefit of agriculture, it is the present government policy to construct new dams and irrigation networks which can be channelled to those lands.

There is also the problem of salinity in the irrigated areas; soil-types in both irrigated and rainfed zones are such that the extent of the utilization of land can be easily increased by removal of salinity. The average annual rainfall is 500mm. and is limited to the North and North Eastern parts of the country: an area which is called the rainfed zones. In the southern and central parts, the average rainfall amounts to 140mm., which is known as the irrigated zone relying mainly on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The managed flow of water of these two rivers tends to have adverse affects on cultivation and cause damage to crop production in the region. Moreover, the available water, which is a critical factor in farming, has been used so lavishly that large tracts of the agricultural lands have seriously deteriorated as a result of water-lagging and salt accumulation.

The cultivated lands are devoted to the production of crops and the raising of livestock which contribute two-thirds and one-third respectively of the total agricultural sales value. Some modification in farming methods and a more diversified use of land could easily increase annual outputs of farming without necessitating large investments. Chapter three provides a comprehensive outline of the evolution of land tenure in Iraq between 1932 and 1978. The various attempts to reform land tenure, and various explanations why such reforms are fundamental to the tackling of socio-economic problems, help to place our analyses in a proper historical context.

As we showed in section one of this chapter, the land tenure system prior to 1932, the enactment of the law of 1932 and its amendment in 1938 relied heavily on the Ottoman rule for which the organisation of land showed four types of ownership: firstly, the mulk (privately owned); secondly, the Matruka (common land); thirdly, the waqf (religious land); fourthly, the Miri Sirf (state land).

The main objectives of the above mentioned laws were to break down the land-owner system. For political reasons no steps were taken to implement the reform and the system remained in force until 1958. Before 1958, there were 168,346 land holdings which accounted for 23 million donums out of 32 million donums of arable land. The new government introduced the 1958 land reform programme which was later supplemented by a number of other related laws and decrees. The 1958 land reform law aimed to expropriate big landowners whose land exceeded 1000 donums of irrigated land or 2000 donums of rainfed land, and compensate them. This law was an attempt to break up the structure of feudalism in rural Iraq that existed before 1958, when the big landowners possessed approximately 14 million donums or 61% of the total cultivable land. The 9 million donums were owned by 165,449 small and middle-sized landowners. Hence, the law wished to expropriate 14 million donums which were in the hands of 2,847 big landlords.

As a result, the expropriated area accounted for over 7 million donums and affected 2,177 landlords. But the redistributed lands amounted to over 2 million donums by the end of 1968. The low ratio of actual distributed lands can be attributed to the following reasons: a) the redistribution of land was slower than the expropriation policy because the government at that time wished to win the first stage,

the farmers political support. b) the lack of transportation facilities and information about the cultivable and non-cultivable land of many villages which was due to the inadequacy of a clear classification of the particularities of lands, mapping facilities and existing surveying.

A comparison between pre and post land reform period of 1954-1958 and 1959-1968, and the period 1959-1963 sub-divided into two the periods 1959-1963 and 1964-1968, reveal an interesting result. When we compare the periods 1954-1958 and 1959-1963, we find that, the main cereal crop production fell. This can be attributed to the small amount of distributed land which was uncultivated at optimal levels which thus affected adversely the level of agricultural output. If we look at the longer period i.e. 1964-1968 we find that the main cereal production increased. This is due to the use of better methods of cultivation.

In fact, the land reform law had benefited 261,758 people including both tenants and landless peasants by the end of 1968.

The law was not successful for the main reason that it gave to the big landlords the right to choose their new holdings. This meant that they chose the fertile and more productive lands, those with easy access to a good infrastructure, roads etc. However, the peasants who received distributed lands, received in most cases, eroded lands, far from the main marketing centres, lacking in transportation facilities where enormous financial and technical marketing supports were needed from the state, if they were to be economically utilized.

In addition, this law empowered the landlords to be compensated

by the beneficiaries. So the link of compensation went from the poor peasant without resources to the rich and powerful landlords. This schematic idea proves that the peasant was still dependent one way or another on the landlords, but this time, the landlord was even backed up by the legislative stroke of the pen. The landless peasants, during that period had to pay some part of the cost of lands provided by the state through the landlord, with an added 3% of interest of the annual share to be paid as administration and distribution expenses. So in sum the peasants were better off before the land reform than after it. Many of them migrated to the city to seek employment.

As the first land reform in the period 1958-1968 was only partially successful in its overall objectives, a second land reform was introduced in 1970 to complement and remedy the shortcomings of the first one. The second land reform was intended to expropriate lands amounting to an average of 3.3 million donums for the period 1970-1976. In reality 4.8 million donums were acquired and benefited 187,162 landless peasants.

This made a total of 448,920 landless peasants benefiting from the first and the second land reform programmes, who account for almost 66% of the total 685,000 landless peasants in the country.

One has to point out however, that the new beneficiaries included both tenants and landless peasants on different types of new land tenure etc. which totalled more than 11 million donums altogether. Although, this second land reform was attractive in its objectives, and the speed of its implementation in the countryside as well as the reduction of the maximum ownership, it still did not achieve the

expected result. One reason for that is that about 34% of the total landless peasants did not receive any land, simply there was no land left to be distributed. They were forced to migrate to the urban areas.

The second land reform has also affected agricultural production. When we compare the period 1964-1968 and 1969-1973, we find that the main crop production increased, but if we compare the periods 1964-1968 and 1974-1978, we find that agricultural production declined. However, the government had made important progress in establishing co-operative, collective and state farms. These new forms of production unit, as was predicted by official sources, did not stimulate a high level of agricultural production.

There was a significant increase in the number of co-operative societies especially after 1963, but experience has shown that these societies still suffer from weakness of number participation, inadequacy of finance and scarcity of managerial personnel. However, in spite of all these weaknesses, one can conclude that the co-operatives have succeeded in replacing the big landlords and their hired managers.

Finally, one may conclude that the land reforms have achieved the political goals by reducing the socio-political power of the big landlords in the rural areas of Iraq. But they did not achieve the social and economic objectives that is, raising the living standard of the peasantry. However, the second law has slightly improved average agricultural production over the period 1970-1978. This improvement however, is not significant enough to raise the standard of living of the peasants to a point which would stimulate people to enter farming.

The main conclusions which can be drawn from this chapter can be briefly summarised as follows:-

1. The enactment of land tenure during the period 1932-1958 resulted in an extreme inequality of land distribution among the peasants.
2. The concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few landlords led to emergence of a semi-feudalistic system and its concomitant tenure system. The sharecropping pattern encouraged the landlords to adopt extreme cultivation methods without due attention to the gradual impoverishment of soil.
3. A land reform programme has been under implementation since 1958, and so far has achieved many goals, among which are the removal of the political as well as social power of the landlords and a more equitable land distribution than existed prior to 1958.
4. Most of the lands which have been distributed to the landless peasants in compliance with both land reform laws are of poor quality. This fact implies that no remarkable improvement in the standard of living of the land reform beneficiaries has occurred.

Chapter four discusses the agricultural development policy within the successive development plans during the period 1950-1974. Due to the significant increase in oil revenues after 1950, the government found it necessary to take the initiative in promoting the development of the economy as a whole. However, the government drew up two development programmes during the period 1951-1959. Both heavily emphasised the irrigation and flood control projects, many of which had a long gestation between initiation and completion and could not

show quick results. The Development Board failed to evoke a strong response from the non-oil sector to enable it to achieve either proper agricultural development or structural change in Iraq's economy.

Furthermore, three development plans were drawn up and followed during the period 1959-1969. Allocation of investment expenditures to the various sectors of the economy reflected a change in development policy, with the industrial sector receiving a higher priority in the allocation of resources than the agricultural sector. It is surprising that this change in priorities should come at the time when it was imperative that the agricultural sector should be given top priority, especially at a time when a major step was being already undertaken by the government.

However, the execution of these programmes and plans revealed substantial shortcomings in comparison with planned outlays. Co-ordination and integration between the different plans and programmes has been ill-conceived.

During the National Development Plan period (1970-1974), special attention was given to the development of agriculture. The actual increase of agricultural production could not meet the increased demand for food caused by the increase in population and per capita income. This implied an increase in importation of raw materials and foodstuffs.

We may finally conclude that, in spite of all attempts at development that have been undertaken during the period 1951-1974, the growth of the Iraqi economy still relies heavily upon the oil sector. This sector has remained the main source of financing economic

development in the country.

None of the programmes adopted by the Board (1951-1959) were ever completed, changes in either economic and political circumstances invariably led to the replacement of an existing programme by a new one. An unexpected rise in oil revenues caused the revision or replacement of existing programmes. Furthermore, none of the programmes and plans, which were a list of individual economic projects, during the period 1951-1965, mentioned such concepts as national income growth, employment objectives, and other social and economic targets and necessary policies. On the other hand, the plans of the period 1965-1974 were not established on the basis of achieving conformity with objectives such as national income, production, investment etc. Hence integration between planned targets remained for the most part a general concept.

Finally, despite the fact that the land reforms succeeded in altering the basic structure of the land tenure system, its full implementation was hampered to a great extent by the same difficulties which held up the full success of plans after 1950. Firstly, there has been poor administration and project identification, especially in the period 1951-1969, shortage of qualified personnel, duplication and lack of integration in decision-making in the implementation of projects.

Secondly, the government's continual changes in priority from industry to agriculture, and vice-versa, seriously affected the smooth operation of the economic plans. Thirdly, since the 1958 revolution, the country has suffered acute political instability. Fourthly, there was inadequate co-ordination between the Ministry of Planning and other

government agencies involved in the country's development effort.

Finally, the country's economic plans have been basically a collection of different public projects lacking correlation and integration.

At the end, a few points should be mentioned about some of the policies adopted for agricultural development and the consequences that have followed from them. The government policies are characterised by a long-term view of the need to expand potentially cultivable lands through creating the necessary infrastructure such as dams, irrigation networks, roads, etc. which meant that allocated resources were spread thinly over a large area. This implies that instead of adopting a policy with immediate growth potentiality by allocating resources in smaller areas with greater efficiency in production and management methods, the policy tended to emphasise horizontal extension which requires a host of other inputs in particular both in terms of man-power and capital. It is therefore no surprise to see the rate of growth relative to invested capital to be low.

The early distribution of land in small-size, economically unviable units has had negative effects on the growth of production and only later a change in policy to bring them together in large-scale production units has helped to reduce that aspect of policy, though a new problem, insufficient managers and skilled personnel, has appeared to be a major obstacle to increased growth. It seems that the correct policy, in the face of the shortage of skilled personnel, is to leave small producers in the private sector, where they can

survive until the government has cultivated the necessary ability for the management of large units.

The same thing can be said about the running of co-operatives. The lack of specialised personnel to solve immediate problems of farming and organising co-operatives in ways in which the distribution of resources can be effectively undertaken has been a major cause of the low growth rates of agricultural output. Furthermore, Government policy is largely formulated in terms of co-operatives, collectives and state farms. There has been very little attention given to the economic efficiency of these units in which production did not increase at the expected rates.

In the course of writing this thesis, we have particularly noticed the scarcity of studies on the agricultural sector.

This indicates that there is a large area in which research work can be undertaken with particular reference to government policy and its consequences for the agricultural sector. It would be interesting to discover the effects of land reform on the different groupings in the rural areas and the extent of benefits that each has received from the implementation of land reforms. The consequences that land reforms have had on the political structure and the implication for the economic development of the country are other topics worthy of further investigation.

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APPENDIX

RELEVANT STATISTICAL INFORMATION

TABLE: (A)

AREA, PRODUCTION AND YIELD OF MAJOR CROPS IN IRAQ, 1959-1978

YEARS	WINTER CROPS					
	WHEAT			BARLEY		
	(1) AREA (DONUMS)	(2) PRODUCTION (TONNES)	(3)=(2)/(1) YIELD KILO/DONUMS	(1) AREA (DONUMS)	(2) PRODUCTION (TONNES)	(3)=(2)/(1) YIELD KILO/DONUMS
1959 (a)	5,961,000	564,600	115.0	4,365,200	732,600	167.8
1960 (b)	5,085,000	592,000	116.4	4,151,000	804,000	193.7
1961 (b)	5,385,000	857,000	159.1	4,164,000	911,000	218.8
1962 (b)	6,363,000	1,085,000	170.5	4,758,000	1,125,000	236.4
1963 (c)	6,818,000	488,000	128.0	4,874,000	799,000	194.3
1964 (c)	6,507,000	807,000	124.0	4,391,000	623,000	142.0
1965 (c)	6,813,000	1,006,000	148.0	4,389,000	806,000	184.0
1966 (c)	6,947,000	826,000	119.0	4,677,000	832,000	178.0
1967 (c)	6,020,958	1,029,186	170.9	3,139,469	735,573	234.3
1968 (c)	6,735,746	1,536,919	228.2	3,613,756	992,419	274.6
1969 (c)	6,773,100	1,183,083	174.6	3,381,000	963,270	284.9
1970 (c)	7,034,138	1,235,690	175.7	2,690,734	682,203	253.5
1971 (c)	3,793,200	822,300	216.8	1,584,300	432,400	272.9
1972 (d)	7,658,400	2,625,300	342.8	2,902,200	979,600	337.5
1973 (d)	462,400*	957,000	206.9	1,856,400*	641,800	248.8
1974 (g)	6,533,300	1,338,900	204.9	2,076,200	532,800	256.6
1975 (g)	5,630,600	845,400	150.1	2,269,200	437,000	192.6
1976 (g)	5,997,200	1,302,400	217.1	2,302,800	597,300	251.6
1977 (g)	3,430,400	695,700	202.8	2,143,500	457,700	213.5
1978 (g)	5,982,600	909,800	216.0	2,857,300	617,200	216.0

... Continued

TABLE: (A) (continued)

AREA, PRODUCTION AND YIELD OF MAJOR CROPS IN IRAQ, 1959-1978

YEARS	SUMMER CROPS								
	RICE			COTTON			TOBACCO		
	(1) AREA (DONUMS)	(2) PRODUCTION (TONNES)	(3)=(2)/(1) YIELD KILO/DONUMS	(1) AREA (DONUMS)	(2) PRODUCTION (TONNES)	(3)=(2)/(1) YIELD KILO/DONUMS	(1) AREA (DONUMS)	(2) PRODUCTION (TONNES)	(3)=(2)/(1) YIELD KILO/DONUMS
1959 (a)	251,300	88,500	372.1	174,000	26,036	177.0			
1960 (b)	305,700	118,300	387.0	123,738	23,897	193.0	39,375	11,308	287.0
1961 (b)	255,200	68,500	268.4	148,000	26,900	182.0	(e) 50,000	12,012	240.0
1962 (b)	336,000	113,000	336.3	137,000	25,500	187.0	(e) 50,000	10,255	205.1
1963 (c)	431,000	168,000	389.8	98,000	14,977	171.0	(e) 50,000	7,930	158.6
1964 (c)	438,000	184,000	420.1	159,097	29,363	184.0	(e) 50,000	4,137	82.7
1965 (c)	464,200	198,400	427.3	134,661	29,604	234.0	(e) 60,000	13,115	218.5
1966 (c)	443,000	182,100	411.1	132,047	26,896	217.0	(e) 60,000	11,379	189.6
1967 (c)	412,000	315,000	763.7	60,665#	18,559	305.9	(e) 58,000	5,747	99.0
1968 (c)	435,000	354,000	812.7	63,424#	26,250	413.9	(e) 58,000	13,326	229.7
1969 (c)	424,000	318,000	750.9	87,982#	29,051	330.0	(e) 59,000	15,790	267.6
1970 (c)	298,000	180,000	603.9	134,618	41,465	308.0	(e) 59,000	9,089	154.0
1971 (c)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	(f) 135,590	42,840	316.0	(e) 58,000	15,625	263.0
1972 (d)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	(f) 146,800	50,810	346.0	55,610	18,361	328.0
1973 (d)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	(f) 143,270*	45,310	316.0	42,350	9,627	227.0
1974 (g)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	104,600	40,250	386.1	38,000	10,602	250.0
1975 (g)	119,500	60,500	506.2	105,070	38,580	367.2	43,500	13,472	297.0
1976 (g)	212,600	163,300	768.1	101,320	33,890	334.5	38,550	4,380	114.0
1977 (g)	253,900	199,200	784.6	83,670	26,050	311.3	33,898	6,718	198.0
1978 (g)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	68,519	13,935	203.4	50,000	7,250	145.0
							46,932	10,995	234.0

- SOURCES: (a) Iraq, Ministry of Economics, Principle Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract, 1958, Zahra Press, Baghdad, 1959, pp. 112 and 114.
 (b) Iraq, Ministry of Planning, Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract, 1961, Zahra Press, Baghdad, 1962, pp. 50 and 52.
 (c) Iraq, Ministry of Planning, Central Bureau of Statistics, A.A. of Statistics, Baghdad, 1973, pp. 105 and 113.
 (d) Iraq, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, A.A. of Statistics, Baghdad, 1976, pp. 77-79.
 (e) Iraq, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, Statistical Pocket Book, Baghdad, 1975, p. 16.
 (f) Iraq, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, Statistical Pocket Book 1960-1970, Baghdad, 1972, p. 67.

(*) Harvested area only. Total area cultivated with wheat during 1973 was (6,715,200) donums. Total area cultivated with barley during 1973 was (2,195,400) donums. Total area cultivated with cotton during 1973 was (157,210) donums.
 (#) Excluding some districts of Iraq for private circumstances.

TABLE: (B) (continued)

VEGETABLE PRODUCTION IN IRAQ 1959-1978

	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971		1972	
AREA PRODUCTION	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
WINTER VEGETABLES														
BROAD BEANS	41484	58535	51939	61459	69672	20257	67154	17682	71209	20118	78565	18495	59763	14935
GREEN ONIONS	2838	53578	29703	64530	30529	60265	29592	55080	29101	63233	28076	68753	31664	87150
TURNIP	12961	31135	14967	38274	15049	38276	16084	37840	12192	29584	12768	29638	15471	36546
CABBAGE	3997	13670	4422	14775	4314	14636	4275	14625	4299	14544	4449	15520	4646	16136
CAULIFLOWER	1861	4929	1986	3862	1925	5025	1909	5280	2084	5097	2463	6698	3073	10369
SPINACH	5948	9477	6830	10832	6317	10521	6249	9977	5234	8092	5701	5807	5891	9181
SWISS CHARD	7168	12433	7710	12982	8378	14375	8835	15480	8493	15108	8727	15113	8266	13900
LETTUCE	10147	26606	11832	31511	12080	37581	12805	40866	11654	31754	14812	4439	16470	40592
RADISH	8010	21602	8622	22747	8930	25196	9113	25726	8061	20317	10543	28451	9311	23131
CARROTS	3526	9765	3600	8776	3689	9522	3613	9706	3248	8267	3442	10428	4366	11250
GREEN BEANS	3133	3433	3153	3754	3404	4080	3736	4236	4499	4879	2609	3305	2591	2771
TOTAL WINTER VEGETABLES	101,073	245,163	144,764	273,502	164,287	239,734	163,365	236,498	160,074	220,993	172,155	206,647	161,512	265,961
SUMMER VEGETABLES														
TOMATO	114639	207401	129013	241375	126173	232157	116730	220163	146665	310680	149082	382859	173482	368160
OKRA (LADIES FINGERS)	52388	79368	56292	95185	53977	84081	53104	88293	57728	97355	56634	102479	60924	112899
EGG-PLANT (AUBERGINE)	39539	135625	58468	248685	38627	122753	38880	130183	37739	119515	42655	126694	41001	132145
CUCUMBER	64374	101562	93857	140108	50554	78005	49405	77984	53930	83490	61403	93432	60391	95357
SQUASH	20803	44129	23991	60399	28612	68902	26429	65337	28021	67356	29279	72268	20684	53662
WATER MELON	145260	411931	166071	418349	159969	456642	188185	518543	171375	486322	211811	576080	196820	519020
SWEET MELON	67398	150562	65569	156499	71207	174978	67009	181351	75644	183301	75967	177435	69959	145412
GREEN PEPPER	6210	11620	5340	11715	6615	10995	6868	11801	6597	10518	9142	10967	6550	13577
TOTAL SUMMER VEGETABLES	510,611	1,142,198	598,601	1,372,315	535,734	1,228,513	546,610	1,293,655	577,699	1,358,537	635,973	1,542,214	629,811	1,440,232

... Continued

TABLE: (B)

VEGETABLE PRODUCTION IN IRAQ 1959-1978

	1959		1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965	
AREA PRODUCTION	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
WINTER VEGETABLES														
BROAD BEANS	4692	27159	51771	31933	39881	43841	34416	45339	38710	51769	35978	30016	41057	56840
GREEN ONIONS	19066	19121	19141	23934	21221	29445	18932	34171	21030	28262	22605	38268	26625	59029
TURNIP	7832	12767	11272	21069	10879	22030	10321	28077	10658	30927	10600	22982	12190	34226
CABBAGE	1416	4779	2030	4994	2436	6053	1628	5387	2324	8161	3015	7010	3120	10833
CAULIFLOWER	807	2541	2057	2017	1386	2585	850	2388	1109	3076	1172	2937	1629	4220
SPINACH	2597	4255	2792	4387	3354	5153	3599	5992	3662	6464	3482	4308	5093	9208
SWISS CHARD	425	6311	4771	7240	4560	8680	5318	7996	5361	8307	5050	6475	6194	11809
LETTUCE	3785	6155	4415	7947	4281	8266	5213	16781	6692	24147	7203	11897	9041	20000
RADISH	3988	5240	4972	8183	5728	9693	6197	13628	6344	17810	6287	12723	7034	19534
CARROTS	904	1409	1209	1857	1775	2576	1546	4380	1874	6541	2342	5208	2728	8405
GREEN BEANS	2614	3053	2677	2662	2533	2888	1324	1421	1574	1850	1472	1411	2950	4156
TOTAL WINTER VEGETABLES	48,126	92,790	107,107	116,223	98,034	141,210	89,344	165,560	99,338	187,314	99,206	143,235	117,661	238,260
SUMMER VEGETABLES	0,745													
TOMATO	49111	36600	65568	142555	78179	138695	88646	140341	91364	143163	110636	189147	110452	195817
OKRA (LADIES FINGERS)	18688	28212	30842	48118	31775	44412	36611	53049	36973	54066	47814	69439	51053	72375
EGG-PLANT (AUBERGINE)	4870	39706	20141	54521	23988	63851	28057	79973	30478	88074	34541	133787	37617	136787
CUCUMBER	21802	28517	31022	41522	34816	47686	38233	62014	44558	71586	53578	92300	55765	92538
SQUASH	8290	18426	11479	27410	18729	29507	15390	31671	16435	34477	19692	41067	19731	45053
WATER MELON	69476	176441	74118	189864	83165	186257	95729	265003	101885	284614	128099	363472	137945	383200
SWEET MELON	25108	49591	40136	76516	45298	83282	43873	84424	46915	92321	59359	120434	65713	142486
GREEN PEPPER	1931	2680	2504	4105	3348	4965	2508	4322	3261	6195	4260	8481	4661	5209
TOTAL SUMMER VEGETABLES	199,276	380,173	275,810	584,611	319,298	598,655	349,047	720,797	371,869	774,496	457,979	1,018,127	482,937	1,073,465

... Continued

TABLE: (B) (continued)

VEGETABLE PRODUCTION IN IRAQ 1959-1978

	1973		1974		1975		1976		1977		1978	
AREA PRODUCTION	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
WINTER VEGETABLES												
BROAD BEANS	n.a.	n.a.	72256	91433	54656	80037	72260	97068	69507	93968	55965	9498
GREEN ONIONS	n.a.	n.a.	19798	69643	19053	54436	16503	63744	24047	67453	17850	47372
TURNIP	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
CABBAGE	(c) 5000	12000	1903	6909	4338	8760	1896	6575	2202	4981	1583	4974
CAULIFLOWER	(c) 5000	9000	1540	4656	2518	4926	1852	5282	1109	2017	1230	3446
SPINACH	(c) 7000	9000	4304	7198	6359	9806	5375	9571	6168	11474	5207	9395
SWISS CHARD	n.a.	n.a.	6610	13497	9283	16037	6957	14201	6828	12526	6640	11412
LETTUCE	n.a.	n.a.	9197	43152	9462	46637	9577	51244	19213	73772	13151	56600
RADISH	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
CARROTS	n.a.	n.a.	3560	9918	4034	8530	3662	10282	4487	11202	4172	11178
GREEN BEANS	(c) 2000	3000	887	846	2084	2106	820	955	2379	2773	3311	3952
TOTAL WINTER VEGETABLES	19,000	33,000	120,055	247,252	111,787	231,275	118,902	258,922	135,940	280,166	109,109	157,827
SUMMER VEGETABLES												
TOMATO	172000	355000	142801	333752	178003	389018	182519	491842	162524	401777	161315	432272
OKRA (LADIES FINGERS)	47000	89000	35271	84380	36523	89452	39921	79128	46089	102091	49844	92211
EGG-PLANT (AUBERGINE)	39000	117000	19565	67528	23015	81872	25991	112205	28348	120559	28497	106264
CUCUMBER	82000	134000	55324	92962	56302	107023	57668	101786	79000	159601	79870	158605
SQUASH	n.a.	n.a.	17389	44546	16640	41494	18134	51901	13440	39415	19662	51189
WATER MELON	176000	444000	117402	323551	123004	349484	179132	529893	182594	577774	269159	1050553
SWEET MELON	n.a.	n.a.	33940	75125	39181	65212	42745	79731	48897	106902	53844	105710
GREEN PEPPER	n.a.	n.a.	4442	8534	4571	9345	5086	11084	7254	16886	6453	13282
TOTAL SUMMER VEGETABLES	516,000	1,139,000	426,134	1,030,378	477,239	1,132,900	551,196	1,457,570	568,146	1,525,005	668,644	2,010,086

- SOURCES: (a) The Economic Status of Iraq - A Preliminary Report for the Planning Board, Baghdad, April 1968, pp. 197-198.
 (b) Iraq Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, Annual Abstract of Statistics, Baghdad, 1973, pp. 107-112 and pp. 117-119.
 (c) Iraq Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, Annual Abstract of Statistics, Baghdad, 1974, pp. 39-40.
 (d) Iraq Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Organisation, Annual Abstract of Statistics, Baghdad, 1978, pp. 62-63.

(1) = stands for areas (donums) (2) = stands for production (tonnes) n.a. = not available.